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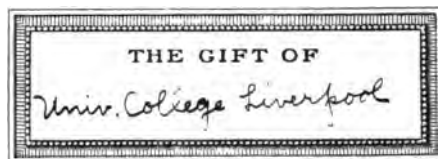
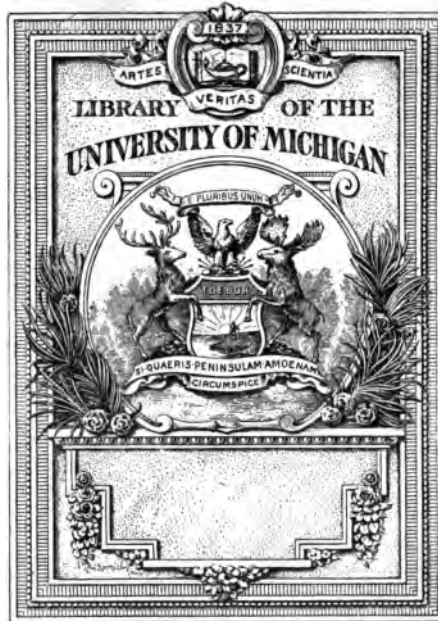
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# OTIA MERSEIANA

VOLUME FOUR

**COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION**

**THE VICE-CHANCELLOR**

**PROF. GILBERT A. DAVIES**

*Dean of the Faculty*

**PROF. JOHN MACUNN**

*Chairman of the Faculty*

**DR. CHARLES BONNIER**

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*University Librarian*

# OTIA MERSEIANA

THE PUBLICATION OF  
THE FACULTY OF ARTS  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF  
LIVERPOOL



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## PREFACE

THE present number of *Otia Merseiana* is one of the first contributions made by the Faculty of Arts, since the new Charter was passed, to the aim therein defined as the 'advancement of knowledge.' This aim inspired the founders of the periodical in 1899 ; and, in spite of various hindrances, it has published, according to promise, many 'original studies by Professors, Lecturers, Readers, and Graduates of the University.' The numbers already produced attest the learned activity of the Faculty during years that have been much distracted with the tasks of constitutional change. In those numbers (I-III) the work of *alumni* of the University is represented, and in No. IV it bulks large. There could be no better proof, to the community, of the living growth of the Faculty and of the work which it is doing, than the original contributions of scholars trained within the Faculty.

The articles in the present volume are confined to the field of English studies—literary and philological. Thus there is a more definite unity of interest than in the general numbers ; but these will by no means be discontinued, as they enable the Faculty to shew, in single articles, the handiwork of Celtic, or Chinese, or Rommany scholars, for whom an entire volume cannot be afforded. Still, it is also intended to issue further special numbers like the present—devoted, for instance, to historical or archaeological problems—which will prove that our studies in Arts are being more and more specialized and organized with the growth of the University.



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## PHONETIC INFECTION IN SHAKESPEARE

**I**n almost all writers we can trace, and in many we are compelled to observe, a weakness for particular words or phrases. The student of Carlyle or Ruskin, of Tennyson or Swinburne, could easily draw up lists of the special favourites of these authors. Sometimes the fondness for a word appears from beginning to end of the writer's career. Sometimes it is temporary : his fancy holds for a year or two and then dies out or turns into dislike, somewhat as inferior journalism, in its coarser way, falls in love with one adjective (like "poignant" or "convincing" or "amazing" just now), and after a while transfers its disgusting affections to another. And what is true of words and phrases is true, in poetry, of metres and cadences. Most poets have their special favourites, permanent or occasional.

Into the special causes of these attachments I do not enquire; but behind these special causes lies a more general one. It seems to be the case that anything—single sound, syllable, word, phrase, cadence—which has occurred, or at any rate made any decided mark, in the course of composition, perhaps even in speech, tends to reproduce itself wholly or in part,—tends to echo. Scores of obstacles, the most important of which will occur to the reader at once, obstruct and thwart the operation of this tendency, so that its effects appear exceptional; but it is always at work, and examination soon reveals the signs of its secret power.

An obvious instance is alliteration. The initial sound of a word tends to echo. Sometimes there is a particular reason for the alliteration, a harmony between sound and meaning; but these cases, though aesthetically far the most interesting, form really a small minority. The alliteration in proverbs, in popular phrases, in titles of books, in advertisements, has generally no such special justification. Neither has a great deal of the alliteration in verse. This is evident in the case of Old English and Middle English poetry, for

example, and in that of later poets like Browning or Swinburne ; and it will be found true of English poetry in general.

In the same way the whole first syllable of a word, and (less strongly) the whole last syllable of a word, tend to echo. The author who has just written "concern" or "consider" is tempted to prefer "convert" to "turn," or "comprehend" to "understand." I wrote, a few lines back, "obstacles obstruct the operation," and let the jingle have its way because it was an involuntary instance (which two words are another involuntary instance) of the tendency.

And so a whole word tends to echo. Of course, I do not refer to the ordinary repetition of a word which comes from the repetition of an idea. I mean that the word tries to reproduce itself without any special justification in the meaning that has to be expressed. Its mere sound, or something else about it, has caught hold of the writer's mind, and he uses it again in a place where, in other circumstances, he would have chosen a different word. The phenomenon is particularly noticeable when the word in being repeated appears in a new sense. And this happens more frequently than the reader might suppose.

Without pursuing this subject or attempting to show how the study of such echoes and of favouritism in words may assist criticism in determining the authorship of one work or the date of another, I will illustrate one or two of these remarks from Shakespeare. And I choose Shakespeare mainly because he is probably the last poet in whom we should expect to trace the workings of this tendency. Not that he is among our most careful writers ; but his vocabulary is immense, he appears to have an almost unlimited command of it, and in respect of his choice of words he has few mannerisms ; so that, for example, if we were offered a forgotten passage of his with two or three of the adjectives omitted, we should rarely be able to guess (as we often could with some other poets) what these adjectives were. In fairness to myself I must add that in the great majority of cases I have not found these echoes by listening for them, but have first felt something unusual in the sound of certain lines, and then have found the cause in an echo.

I pass by alliteration in the ordinary sense of that word, and will give a few out of many examples of echoing syllables.





Here the syllable not only echoes, but appears in the same place in each line.

6. *Troilus and Cressida*, I, iii, 19-21.

which are indeed nought else  
But the *protractive* trials of great Jove  
To find *persistive* constancy in men.

These two strange words are ἄπαξ λεγόμενα. If we look back to line 9 we find "tortive", a ἄπ. λεγ., whose terminal sound has echoed.

7. *Troilus and Cressida*, II, ii, 132-138.

But I attest the gods, your full consent  
Gave wings to my *propension* and cut off  
All fears attending on so dire a *project*.  
For what, alas, can these my single arms?  
What *propugnation* is in one man's valour,  
To stand the push and enmity of those  
This quarrel would excite? Yet I *protest*...

"Propension" and "propugnation" are both ἄπ. λεγ., and "propension" calls up not only "propugnation" but at line 190 the verb "propend," also ἄπ. λεγ.

8. *Troilus and Cressida*, IV, iv. 37-39.

rudely beguiles our lips  
Of all *rejoindure*, forcibly prevents  
Our lock'd *embrasures*...

Both words are ἄπ. λεγ. Is it possible to doubt that, but for "rejoindure," Shakespeare would have written "embracements," which is not a rare word with him? Instead of doing so, he uses a rather rare word in a sense apparently given to it only on this occasion. I may add that some half dozen of the words marked in these extracts appear to be not only ἄπ. λεγ. in Shakespeare, but coined by him to satisfy the echo-impulse.

I add some instances, as I think them, of echoing, where the passages are too long to quote.

9. In *Troilus and Cressida*, II, iii, 133, occurs the ἄπ. λεγ. "self-assumption;" at 176 the ἄπ. λεγ. "self-admission"; at 182 the ἄπ. λεγ. "self-breath"; at 250 the ἄπ. λεγ. "self-affected"; and there is only one other compound of "self" in the play, the not uncommon word "self-willed" (I, iii, 188).

10. In *Henry V*, II, iv, 124, occurs "vaultages," and within the next seventy lines occur "rivage," "sternage," and "portage." The first three of these words are ἀπ. λεγ., and "portage" occurs only once elsewhere, and then in a different sense (*Pericles*, III, i, 35).

11. In Shakespeare's plays there are only two compound substantives in which "here" forms the first element. One is "here-approach," and it appears in *Macbeth*, IV, iii, 133; the other, "here-remain," appears within fifteen lines (148).

12. When Shakespeare was writing the first part of Act IV, Scene iii, of *Timon of Athens* (certainly no one else wrote the first part of the scene), his ear was haunted by the ending -ant. Within lines 1-160 occur "dividant," "operant," "trenchant," "mountant"; of which all except "operant" are ἀπ. λεγ.

13. At *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 647, occurs the rare word "discase," and within the next twenty lines, "dispatch," "dismantle," "disliken," the last two in the same line. "Discase" appears elsewhere in Shakespeare only in the *Tempest*, written probably just after (if not just before) the *Winter's Tale*.

I pass to a very curious instance of an echo of a different kind. The following are the last twelve lines of the first Act of *Julius Caesar*:

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| CAS.  | Come, Casca, you and I will yet ere day<br>See Brutus at his house : three parts of him<br>Is ours already, and the man entire,<br>Upon the next encounter, yields him ours.     |
| CASCA | O, he sits high in all the people's hearts :<br>And that which would appear offence in us,<br>His countenance, like richest alchemy,<br>Will change to virtue and to worthiness. |
| CAS.  | Him and his worth and our great need of him<br>You have right well conceited. Let us go,<br>For it is after midnight : and ere day<br>We will awake him and be sure of him.      |

These two speeches of Cassius always sounded odd to me, and strangely monotonous. The source of this impression lies in the repetition of the very insignificant word "him," and particularly in the triple appearance of this word at the end of a line and preceded by "of," — "parts of him," "need of him," "sure of him." There are many passages in Shakespeare where adjacent lines are purposely ended in the same way, but clearly this is not such a passage; there is an involuntary echo.

I went on to Act II, and to my surprise was stopped almost at once by a similar ending. Line 111 runs :

I know no personal cause to spurn at him.

And five lines later comes :

And then I grant we put a sting in him.

Then the echo dies away. But presently, at line 87, it sounds again, with a difference, " you " taking the place of " him " :

CAS. I think we are too bold upon your rest ;  
Good morrow, Brutus ; do we trouble you ?

BRU. I have been up this hour, awake all night.  
Know I these men that come along with you ?

CAS. Yes, every man of them, and no man here  
But honours you, and every one doth wish  
You had but that opinion of yourself  
Which every noble Roman bears of you.

And then, fifty lines later, the echo begins again, almost in its original form :

Of any promise that hath pass'd from him.

And between this line (140) and line 220 eleven verses end with " him ", the word being preceded by a preposition in seven of the eleven. This was something like an obsession. It passed off (perhaps Shakespeare took a long rest after line 220), and throughout the remainder of the play this particular ending nowhere occurs with unusual frequency, though there is a marked tendency all through *Julius Caesar* to end the line with an insignificant monosyllable.

Shakespeare's subjection to the echo-impulse should be borne in mind, I think, in considering the results, often valuable, of the application of metrical tests. For example, it is beyond reasonable doubt that he tended to use feminine endings more and more freely as he went on writing. But there are early plays in which the percentage of these endings, though far from equal to the percentage in the later plays, is a good deal higher than we should expect. In these cases it will sometimes be found that the percentage is raised by the peculiar abundance of such endings in particular scenes, and the reason for that abundance often lies in the character of those scenes. But it does not lie only there. It lies also, I believe, in the fact that sometimes this ending took Shakespeare's fancy and went on mechanically reproducing itself, until perhaps he noticed the monotonous effect, or possibly until he stopped compo-

sing for the day. For example, *As you like it*, Act II, Scene ii, has nine feminine endings in twenty-one lines. A reason may be found for this very large percentage in the tone of the scene; but the next scene, in its first fifteen lines, shows a percentage still larger, though no such reason can now be pleaded, and though the remainder of the scene shows nothing like it. The cause is that the movement of Scene ii continues to echo for a while in Scene iii.

Again, take the light endings. Unlike too many of those who have dealt in metrical tests, Dr. Ingram has a true ear and is very accurate; and nothing can be more certain than his conclusion that light endings appear only sporadically until the last plays, beginning with *Macbeth*, which contains twenty-one. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find that *Julius Caesar* has as many as ten of these endings. But our surprise will be diminished if we observe that four of these ten occur within forty lines, and if we remember the law of echo.

To the same law may be referred another phenomenon. Shakespeare sometimes wrote a scene partly in rhyme and partly in blank verse. When he does so, the rhyming habit frequently persists and intrudes into the blank verse. I take an example from *All's Well*, II, iii. Helena, having healed the King, exercises her right of choosing a husband in recompense for her services, and chooses Bertram. Bertram scornfully refuses to marry a poor physician's daughter. The king delivers a long speech in gnomic rhyme, but, when Bertram still refuses, he becomes indignant and speaks in blank verse. His rhymes, however, are still running in his head, as the opening lines of his speech too plainly show (156 ff.):

My honour's at the *stake* : which to defeat,  
I must produce my power. Here, *take* her hand,  
Proud scornful boy, unworthy this good gift;  
That dost in vile misprision shackle up  
My love and her desert ; that canst not *dream*,  
We, poisoning us in her defective scale,  
Shall weigh thee to the *beam* ; that wilt not *know*  
It is in us to plant thine honour where  
We please to have it *grow*.

I was inclined at one time to believe that Shakespeare was here re-casting a speech originally written in rhyme. But in the remainder of the speech no further traces of rhyme appear; and it seems more probable that his psychical mechanism, having been set to produce rhymes, continued for a while to produce them when they were no longer wanted.

## DU CONTACT EN LITTÉRATURE

CHARLES BONNIER

**I**L existe entre deux nations, comme l'Angleterre et la France, des contacts de différentes espèces, sur divers terrains. La compréhension du génie de ces deux pays est en soi un contact ; ils ne peuvent s'affirmer en action, en énergie, sans se rencontrer, et ces rencontres comme pour deux corps dans l'espace les limitent, les précisent et les spécialisent ; en d'autres termes, le contact crée la plastique de leur esprit et de leurs tendances.

Le terrain politique et social où s'opèrent ces transports de forces nationales, serait intéressant à étudier et à délimiter. Certaines questions, soit d'économie politique, soit de politique pure, ont été ainsi résolues par la réponse qu'y ont faite les deux pays, et la solution différente qu'ils ont donnée au problème ; on peut citer parmi ces contributions à la science sociale le problème du libre-échange et la conception du parlementarisme. Les deux nations, envisageant le même objet sous deux faces, pour ainsi dire, ont collaboré à sa connaissance complète, l'une suppléant à l'autre et la complétant.

Le sujet qui nous occupe ici plus spécialement est le contact littéraire. Taine dans son *Histoire de la Littérature anglaise* a trouvé les trois éléments qui contribuent à la formation d'une littérature : le milieu, la race et l'individu. Mais il est intéressant de constater qu'aussitôt que le produit littéraire se manifeste, dès qu'il agit, il est déterminé par les autres résultats de différents milieux ; il en subit l'influence et à son tour les modifie ; il ne se manifeste, pourrait-on dire, qu'en se modifiant.

Un curieux esprit, Novalis, avait pressenti ce phénomène de décomposition que subit toute conception philosophique, toute œuvre littéraire. « Il existe, écrivait-il, des séries idéales d'événements qui se développent parallèlement aux séries réelles. Elles coïncident rarement ensemble. Les hommes, les circonstances modifient d'ordinaire la

succession logique idéale, de sorte qu'elle paraît incomplète et que ses conséquences souffrent du même défaut. C'est ce qui est arrivé au mouvement de la réforme. Le Protestantisme a été remplacé par le Luthéranisme. »

Parmi les circonstances qui modifient une conception ou une œuvre littéraire, une des plus curieuses à étudier, c'est sa transplantation d'un pays à un autre ; l'œuvre semble parfois reprendre une nouvelle vie dans ce terrain étranger, et elle revient à son pays natal avec une allure, un aspect inconnu de ceux qui la virent à l'origine. Ce phénomène s'est présenté plusieurs fois dans l'histoire littéraire des deux pays ; un exemple amusant, cité par Sweet <sup>1</sup>, est celui de l'étonnement causé aux amis français de sir Walter Scott par son emploi d'expressions qu'on trouve dans Froissart : c'était là un phénomène en retour ; un autre cas est celui de Kossuth parlant à un public anglais le langage de Shakspeare. On assiste ainsi à des résurrections d'œuvres ou de vocables qu'on croyait morts dans leur pays d'origine, se produisant à des places ou dans des organes auxquels ils ne semblaient pas adaptés. La littérature romanesque des vieilles chroniques françaises est ainsi revenue en France, grâce au *Quentin Durward* et à l'*Anne de Geierstein* de Walter Scott.

Ces modifications sont trop connues pour que nous nous y arrêtions, mais il est des contacts plus fins, plus délicats ; une lente progression souterraine d'influence, une sorte de tunnel qui s'établit, malgré toute prohibition, entre deux nations, même aux époques où elles sont le plus séparées par leurs différends politiques. « Jusqu'ici, écrit Mallarmé <sup>2</sup>, et depuis longtemps deux nations, l'Angleterre, la France, les seules, parallèlement, ont montré la superstition d'une littérature. L'une à l'autre tendant avec magnanimité le flambeau, et tour à tour éclairer l'influence. » Mallarmé signalait ainsi le premier le caractère du contact littéraire en Angleterre et en France : la continuité des chefs-d'œuvre.

C'est là ce qui explique surtout que les grands esprits des deux nations se soient rencontrés si souvent ; ils exploraient le même champ, le même territoire intellectuel, et jamais ils n'ont cessé ce travail ; comme à ces sapeurs et ces soldats du génie qui creusent autour d'une ville, soit pour la surprendre, soit pour la protéger, des mines et des contre-mines, il est arrivé aux écrivains des deux pays de se rencon-

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1. *A Practical study of Languages.*

2. *Musique et Littérature.*

trer au détour de la même idée, et, comme cela est arrivé à Fontenoy, ils se sont salués avant de se combattre.

La même préoccupation, la recherche identique, ont créé ce que les *Précieuses* appelaient des « tours d'esprit » semblables, et une curiosité bien naturelle s'est produite de part et d'autre, de savoir comment le voisin traiterait le sujet commun ; une rivalité s'est dégagée de ces contacts fréquents, et cela malgré les répugnances ou les différences qui semblaient éloigner l'idée de toute collaboration à la même œuvre.

C'est qu'en effet, pendant les trois derniers siècles, il semble que les deux palais, devant lesquels le goût « hésitera avec délices, devant une rivalité d'architectures comparables et sublimes <sup>1</sup> », se maintiennent, se dressent vis-à-vis l'un de l'autre, et ceux qui les parcourent, pour reprendre l'image de Mallarmé, passent par des galeries de correspondances où les deux styles se fondent, tandis que dans le lointain persistent, magnifiques d'isolement, les palais — ici les chefs-d'œuvre — différents et intègres.

La conquête de l'Angleterre par Guillaume de Normandie devait être le point de départ des différences et en même temps des affinités spéciales qui plus tard ont persisté et se sont développées entre l'Angleterre et la France. La brillante race normande (Ten Brink), déjà en rivalité avec les Français de France, arrivait dans le nouveau pays, fixée, pour ainsi dire, dans ses qualités intellectuelles ; sa littérature était alors la première de l'Europe et devait toujours se développer sur la même route, tant que l'anglo-normand serait parlé et écrit en Angleterre. Cette langue et cette littérature devaient d'autant plus se différencier de leur voisine, qu'elles allaient s'implanter dans un sol nouveau.

De même que deux graines d'une même plante, jetées par le vent dans deux places différentes, arrivent à donner des produits où la forme première disparaît, ainsi les deux langues, les deux littératures, suivent des routes divergentes, et il n'est donné qu'à l'historien ou au philologue de retrouver dans les deux résultats une cause, une origine communes ; sans doute la théorie des milieux peut intervenir ici et expliquer jusqu'à un certain point les variations qui se présentent, mais, si l'on regarde attentivement, on constatera dans le caractère des deux graines — et ici des deux littératures — des divergences potentielles, quand elles étaient unies, des caractères qui ont provoqué la séparation.

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1. *Musique et Littérature.*



Si l'on prend un mot, cet élément premier de la littérature où l'on peut saisir, à l'état simple, le phénomène qui va se compliquant plus il évolue, il sera possible de donner une idée de cette variation en puissance qui se trouve déjà dans l'élément premier et un. Le mot, comme un wagon qui va se détacher, sent déjà dans sa première moitié un élan spécial, tandis que la seconde se ralentit, par la résistance qu'offre le train.

Un certain nombre de mots, dont quelques-uns ont été étudiés ailleurs en détail dans leurs transformations, présentent ce double caractère : *succéder*, par exemple, se dédouble, se segmente en deux parties, en deux sens ; le premier de *suivre* ou d'*hériter*, qui n'est en somme que la même idée spécialisée, c'est une acception conservée par le français ; l'anglais, ou plutôt l'anglo-normand a surtout développé le sens de *réussir*. De même, *confidence* et *confiance*, *prévenir* et *to prevent*. Sans doute le sens, la cellule primitive du mot, si l'on peut dire, contenait les deux nuances, mais il sera toujours intéressant de rechercher pourquoi l'un s'est développé dans un sens et l'autre dans un autre, de même que dans la propagation des semences certains insectes choisissent de préférence une espèce.

D'ailleurs, si dans le vocabulaire comme dans les littératures le même terme ou le même genre de production persiste quelque temps, il est fatal que bientôt il disparaisse ou s'atrophie dans l'un et l'autre terrain. Les sens, communs au français parlé des deux côtés du détroit, ne peuvent subsister ; ici ou là, il faut que la sélection se fasse, et le terme qui répond le mieux au génie de la race, celui qui s'adapte le mieux au milieu, subsiste et persévère. Le même phénomène a lieu en littérature ; déjà au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, malgré des œuvres remarquables comme celles de l'évêque *Grossetête*, l'on sent une lassitude dans les productions anglo-normandes ; elles ne peuvent plus rivaliser avec la matière de France, alors en plein épanouissement.

C'est cette dernière qui impose au continent et à l'Angleterre ses grands poèmes, tels que le *roman de Renard* et surtout celui de *la Rose* ; et l'Angleterre n'a rien à donner en échange, occupée qu'elle est de son œuvre sourde de gestation d'une littérature autochtone. Les chroniques de *Pierre Langstaff*, celle de *Jordan Fantosme*, sont déjà des œuvres artificielles ; la langue anglo-normande languit sur ce rameau desséché, et l'entrée de la langue anglaise dans la littérature se fait, comme un conquérant entre dans une capitale ennemie, sur des ruines.

*Chaucer* semble tenir la balance et nous donner le dernier produit de la combinaison des deux langues ; mais tout ce qui est français chez lui est déjà artificiel, c'est un grand traducteur, « poète français » même,

si l'on veut, mais le charme de ses traductions consiste plus dans la façon anglaise d'adapter un sujet français, comme c'est le cas pour sa traduction du *Roman de la Rose*.

Avec lui, peut-on dire, disparaît le dernier auteur anglo-normand, et la collaboration des deux pays ne pouvait mieux se terminer que par ce produit savoureux et gras, comme on dirait en peinture.

Depuis l'interdiction légale du français par Édouard III (1365), un débris de l'ancienne langue, un tronçon, pourrait-on dire, se traîne pendant près de quatre siècles dans les cours de justice anglaises ; cet étrange jargon artificiel, ce fantôme de langue se peut étudier dans les « reports » (Dyer's) ; on voit ce que peut donner une langue sortie de son milieu et ne répondant plus à aucun besoin, momifiée et informe. Elle fait songer à ce perroquet vénérable que Humboldt entendit, durant son voyage en Amérique, parler le langage d'une peuplade disparue.

Dans un pays voisin pourtant, séparé de l'Angleterre par un border sanglant et hérissé de lances, en Écosse, le français, chassé de l'Angleterre, pénétrait sous sa forme propre et jetait des racines profondes. Ici ce n'est plus le cas d'une action commune de deux branches du même langage, mais on assiste au contact, à la pénétration. Les termes français, épars dans la langue écossaise, méritent une étude toute spéciale ; il ne faudrait pas évidemment s'en tenir à la simple notation, comme dans le *Dictionnaire* de Jamieson, des mots d'origine française, mais étudier si l'influence française a agi sur la syntaxe écossaise, et des études savantes, comme celle qu'a entreprise M. G. Neilson sur les contacts entre le *Buik of Alexander* et les *Vœux du Paon* de Jacques de Longuyon, arriveront un jour, prochain il faut l'espérer, à élucider ce problème.

On traduisait au xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle les dernières et lourdes productions françaises dans tous les pays de l'Europe, et le *Buik of Alexander*, probablement, comme le montre M. Neilson, écrit et composé par l'auteur de *Bruce*, semble imprégné de l'esprit français, au point que l'écossais coule librement, parallèlement au style lorrain de l'auteur des *Vœux du Paon* ; ainsi les archers de la garde écossaise combattaient alors côte à côte avec les hommes d'armes français.

En Angleterre, le vrai contact commence dès la fin du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle, dès que cesse la double existence des deux branches du français. Malgré les disputes des hérauts d'armes ou les invectives échangées entre les deux pays, précédant la lutte séculaire, les deux langues, comme les deux littératures, vont commencer un libre-échange, les affinités électives vont diriger les emprunts ; le contact se continuera jusqu'à

nos jours. Comment se produit-il ; quelles lois le régissent ? C'est ce qui reste à examiner.

On citait plus haut la superbe comparaison faite par Mallarmé. Ces palais littéraires, devant lesquels le goût hésitera avec délices, en une rivalité d'architectures comparables et sublimes, ont des corridors, des souterrains par lesquels ils communiquent ; en eux se sont opérés les contacts et ceux-ci, à leur tour, comme en un reflux, ont été influencer les grandes salles, les œuvres de la littérature classique des deux pays. Il y a eu, des deux côtés du détroit, des écrivains qui ont été des « conducteurs » de l'électricité intellectuelle ; génies ou talents mixtes, ils ont vu s'opérer en eux la fusion des éléments des deux races ; les belles études de M. Joseph Texte ont montré pour la France du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>1</sup>, comment le goût et l'influence anglaise s'étaient infiltrés dans notre littérature par des écrivains aujourd'hui presque inconnus, des pionniers oubliés, sort réservé presque toujours aux initiateurs.

Ces études de littérature internationale, préconisées par M. Brunetière et surtout mises au point par ses élèves, ont le grand avantage de nous révéler comment s'est établi ce passage, ce tunnel entre la France et l'Angleterre, qui n'a jamais été comblé depuis.

Au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, pendant les guerres de religion, lorsque des rapports politiques étroits se nouaient entre la reine Élisabeth et les chefs huguenots français, un contact s'établissait, et c'était l'Angleterre qui traduisait nos grands auteurs, pendant que Palsgraeve et Cotgraeve étudiaient leur langage. Shakspeare avait lu Montaigne.

Au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, même avant la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, une colonie française s'établissait à Londres et un salon proprement dit, celui de la duchesse de Mazarin (Olympe de Mancini), réunissait les beaux esprits avec lesquels correspondait La Fontaine. Mais ceci était superficiel, et c'est encore l'influence française, pendant toute la durée du grand siècle, qui se répandait à flots en Angleterre ; la grande mode alors, comme le remarque justement Thackeray dans *Henry Esmond*, était de parler et d'écrire en français, et cette mode a produit un chef-d'œuvre : les *Mémoires de Grammont*, exemple presque unique de la complète maîtrise de notre langue par un étranger, Hamilton. La noblesse jacobite du temps de la reine Anne était devenue par ses rapports avec Saint-Germain et Versailles, complètement « afrancesada ». On retrouve l'influence de Molière et de Boileau dans les œuvres de Dryden et de Pope.

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1. Jean-Jacques Rousseau et le cosmopolisme littéraire. *La Littérature européenne*.

Vers la fin du siècle, les protestants français vinrent en Angleterre, et c'est alors que l'influence française semble reculer ; les réfugiés s'adaptèrent par leurs habitudes de pensée au nouveau mouvement philosophique de Locke. Ils ne pouvaient pas par leur littérature de coventicule pénétrer dans un pays où régnait le même esprit ; c'est ce qui explique que ce furent les Français réfugiés qui apportèrent, par leurs écrits et leurs pamphlets, un peu de l'esprit anglais, d'abord aux protestants restés en France, puis aux libertins, comme on appelait alors les *free-thinkers*, la société du Temple, que fréquentait Voltaire adolescent.

Le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle fut d'un bout à l'autre imprégné, de l'esprit anglais. La Régence inaugura le contact politique entre les deux nations, et, grâce d'abord à l'abbé Prévost, puis à Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot et Rousseau, toute la grande littérature anglaise du temps de la reine Anne coula à pleins bords dans les esprits français. Ni la guerre de Sept ans, ni même la guerre d'Amérique, ne purent interrompre le courant.

Au commencement de la Révolution, les têtes ardentes du nouveau parti, les internationalistes d'alors, les Girondins, Brissot de Warville à leur tête, enthousiastes de l'Angleterre, essayèrent de faire pénétrer en Angleterre ces idées humanitaires dont elle avait doté la France ; aux jacobins, l'on ne jurait que par Priestley ou Thomas Payne. Ce fut alors que Burke réveilla l'esprit conservateur et loyaliste anglais par ses *Considérations*, véritable brise-lame qui arrêta le flot révolutionnaire ; il rappela l'Angleterre à sa tradition insulaire ; il poussa du pied la planche qui unissait les deux bâtiments, qui se séparèrent alors pour vingt-cinq ans. Le gouffre alla toujours s'élargissant, pendant toute la Terreur et jusqu'à la paix d'Amiens. Que l'on compare aux déclamations enthousiastes de Brissot les dénonciations de Barrère, qui représentent bien l'acmé de la haine possible entre deux nations, se mettant réciproquement au ban du genre humain. Des phénomènes analogues se produisaient en Angleterre, où il n'y avait plus pour représenter la France que les nobles émigrés, qui, comme l'a dépeint Chateaubriand dans ses *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, allaient attendre chaque jour M. Pitt à son entrée au Parlement <sup>1</sup>.

A ce moment, les deux nations ne connaissaient l'une de l'autre que la partie basse de leur littérature, le pamphlet politique, et cela ne devait pas leur donner une haute idée de leurs qualités respectives.

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1. M. d'Aulnay fut le seul, parmi les émigrés français, qui refusa de servir Napoléon dans sa guerre contre l'Angleterre.

La paix d'Amiens fut une éclaircie de courte durée, jusqu'à la fin de l'Empire ; tout ce que les Parisiens et les Français connurent de la littérature anglaise se borna à quelques mentions dédaigneuses dans le *Moniteur de l'Empire*. Toute la grande production poétique et romanesque de l'Angleterre ne fut alors connue que de quelques émigrés.

C'est ce qui explique l'ardeur avec laquelle la jeunesse française, lors de la Restauration, délivrée du Blocus intellectuel, conséquence du Blocus continental, se jeta sur les livres anglais. Scott, Byron, furent les premiers à profiter de ce renouveau d'intérêt ; on peut lire dans les lettres de W. Scott avec quel enthousiasme il était reçu dans les salons parisiens. Byron devait devenir l'idole et le modèle d'une partie de la jeune génération, et son influence sur Lamartine et sur Musset est manifeste.

Mais lorsque la troupe anglaise de Charles Kemble et de Miss Smithson vint jouer à Paris les pièces de Shakespeare, ce fut une véritable révélation, et ces représentations exercèrent une grande influence sur l'avènement du mouvement romantique. Alexandre Dumas nous décrit dans ses *Mémoires* l'impression que fit ce nouvel art sur les jeunes gens excédés de tragédies classiques, et Berlioz devait toujours revenir à cette apparition de son maître préféré, celui à qui il rendit un si magnifique hommage dans son œuvre de prédilection, *Roméo et Juliette*.

Les âges suivants assistèrent à un libre-échange entre les deux littératures ; Sainte-Beuve fit connaître par des traductions et des adaptations la poésie de Wordsworth et de Coleridge à ses contemporains ; Scott inspira Balzac ; les réalistes, comme Champfleury, rendirent témoignage public de leur admiration pour Charlotte Brontë. Taine, au commencement du second Empire, codifia dans son *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* cette tendance imitatrice qui fut depuis, en politique, représentée par le *Journal des Débats*. Bourget redonna un renouveau par ses études critiques à l'anglophilie, tandis que les Symbolistes, avec Mallarmé, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam et Verlaine, reconnaissaient comme leur chef, leur initiateur en beauté, E. A. Poë.

Ainsi l'on voit ces séries de contact s'étendre, dans le temps et dans l'espace, et les deux pays se côtoyer dans leur production, forcément tributaires, à certains moments, l'un de l'autre et amenés, malgré des rivalités et des querelles passagères, basées justement sur des malentendus, des manques de compréhension, à s'inquiéter de leur production réciproque, à ne pouvoir faire l'un sans l'autre.

Après avoir passé en revue les différents contacts, et avoir étudié les

phénomènes en étendue, il faudrait les suivre en profondeur, c'est-à-dire en cause, établir pourquoi, à de certains moments, les esprits des deux nations ont été attirés les uns vers les autres. Cela exigerait une longue recherche et ne reviendrait à rien moins qu'à une étude complète et comparative des caractères des deux nations. On ne peut ici qu'indiquer les tendances principales, les facteurs qui ont produit ces contacts.

On doit d'abord reconnaître une règle : à un moment donné, chaque littérature a reconnu ses *limites*, a éprouvé le besoin de se compléter, ou, pour employer l'expression de Molière, de reprendre son bien où elle le trouvait. Faire l'histoire des contacts reviendrait donc à indiquer les défaillances qui se produisirent à des moments donnés dans les deux littératures.

Un moment bien caractéristique d'épuisement, dans l'histoire littéraire française, est celui qui se produisit lors du premier Empire ; il peut mieux que tout autre, servir d'exemple à la thèse avancée ici.

A l'époque de la Révolution et de l'Empire, l'école classique expirait dans une maladie de langueur ; la tragédie dépérissait ; toute sa belle harmonie s'était éteinte, ses lignes pures et souples s'étaient, par un lent procès, raidies et desséchées. Le principe de choix, de sélection, qui avait été une des découvertes de la méthode classique, étendu hors de toute mesure, avait peu à peu ôté aux œuvres toute vie et toute verdure. Pendant cette période l'Angleterre, qui avait passé naguère par le même stade de défaillance, se ranimait par son école lakiste et par Scott. Donc, d'un côté de la Manche, une littérature dépérissait, tandis que de l'autre elle prospérait ; il devait donc y avoir et il y eut emprunt, et c'est à lui que nous devons le mouvement romantique en France.

A côté de la limitation, il existe une autre loi qui régit le contact, *c'est le désir de se contrôler*. Quand une nation a adopté ce que M. Brunetière appelle un genre en littérature, un triple phénomène se produit. En premier lieu, la nouveauté du procédé excite l'enthousiasme et l'émulation parmi les auteurs et on le pousse, surtout en France, jusqu'à sa dernière limite ; on lui fait rendre tout ce qu'il peut donner. L'intensité de production dans un pays attire forcément l'attention des autres, qui adoptent le nouveau procédé, mais en le modifiant ; et c'est alors que le procédé — l'idée nouvelle — revient au point d'où il était parti.

Il a donné, sous ces différentes adaptations, tout ce qu'il pouvait donner ; il est pour ainsi dire éclairé par ces différentes lumières, autrement dit le contrôle complet s'est exercé sur lui, et en même

temps, les différents génies des nations se sont mesurés au même effort.

Un exemple curieux, c'est le succès que les philosophes français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, notamment Diderot et Chamfort, eurent en Allemagne ; ils contribuèrent à fonder la grande école littéraire des Lessing, des Goethe et des Schiller ; et quand les œuvres de ces écrivains pénétrèrent en France au commencement de ce siècle, on ne reconnut plus sous leur enveloppe allemande les idées de nos encyclopédistes, ces « purs joyaux » de notre langue, comme dit Balzac.

Mais l'effort d'imitation, par une contradiction curieuse, se marque successivement par la sélection des effets, le choix des pièces, ce qui est assimilable à un peuple dans la littérature d'un autre peuple et aussi les effets auxquels il est réfractaire. Les adaptations au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et, de nos jours, des pièces françaises qui se jouent à Londres tracent exactement le départ entre les effets qui portent sur un public et n'atteignent pas un autre ; c'est là un champ d'expérience curieux, parce que les auteurs obéissaient involontairement au genre, au caractère de leur race.

En pénétrant plus profondément encore, on peut discerner dans toutes les littératures, des pays de haute civilisation bien entendu, l'effort que fait l'idée, l'idée de Platon, pour se manifester sous toutes ses formes ; elle va de par le monde et répand sa lumière dans différents milieux ; elle en retire à son tour une forme, combinée de toutes les expressions qu'elle a rendues, de toutes les émotions qui la colorent. Si cette théorie était juste, chaque grand siècle de l'humanité formerait le cadre mouvant d'une idée-maîtresse et supérieure, et aussi bien en littérature qu'en politique, l'on peut dire que toutes les grandes figures de l'histoire ont été formées ainsi par la contribution des différents contacts : n'est-ce pas au fond revenir au mot connu : « Les chefs-d'œuvre ne commencent jamais par être des chefs-d'œuvre, ils le deviennent » ? C'est de ce devenir de quelques grandes productions littéraires ou sociales que nous allons donner ici quelques exemples.

Une grande œuvre, tôt ou tard, perce à travers l'indifférence du public. Si l'auteur a parfois cette amertume du succès, la conscience de ne pas être compris, de voir le public s'attacher précisément à ce qui dans son œuvre n'était pas pour lui l'essentiel, l'histoire, au contraire, recueille avec intérêt ces différents jugements, car ils sont le fond qui explique et fait ressortir la figure principale dans le tableau.

Qu'est-ce qui fait le succès d'un livre ? Quand l'œuvre s'adresse au

public, évidemment la réponse est aisée ; c'est le public qui s'applaudit lui-même dans son goût, et félicite et récompense l'auteur qui a su lui plaire. Mais lorsque l'œuvre est ou personnelle, ou va reprendre dans le patrimoine de la race des trésors inconnus, la lente ascension de l'œuvre, la propagande irrésistible qu'elle fait, la dispersion de l'obscur et incompréhensible momentané par les rayons de l'essentiel et du permanent : n'est-ce pas un phénomène semblable à celui où Platon nous représentait l'idée conquérant le monde ?

Il y a encore contact, mais ce n'est plus alors l'œuvre qui est modelée par le public, mais l'opération inverse ; elle rayonne et modifie le milieu ; elle en crée un autre, et ce milieu intellectuel, Taine n'en a pas parlé. Puisque le sujet ici traité est le contact entre l'Angleterre et la France, par le moyen de leurs productions littéraires, un nom s'impose : Shakspeare. Comment l'œuvre dramatique du grand écrivain anglais a-t-elle pénétré en France ? Cette histoire est aujourd'hui connue ; l'on sait que même avant Voltaire, l'on commençait à connaître Shakspeare ; que l'auteur français, avec un courage dont on ne lui a guère su gré des deux côtés du détroit, a fait des imitations, hardies pour son temps, de quelques drames de Shakspeare. On oublie assez volontiers en Angleterre qu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, sauf chez quelques rares écrivains comme Steele, Johnson, le nom de Shakspeare était aussi dédaigné en Angleterre qu'en France. Voltaire a ouvert la voie, et il a eu la récompense ordinaire des pionniers, à qui l'on reproche de ne pas avoir été assez loin dans la route qu'ils ont ouverte, car on oublie qu'ils ont passé une partie de leur vie à la débayer. Ducis, aussi, a subi les railleries des romantiques, pour ses faibles adaptations, ses mises au point des chefs-d'œuvre de Shakspeare ; et cependant, de même que Goethe avouait avoir appris à connaître Shakspeare dans des morceaux choisis, de même la génération de 1830 avait épélé Shakspeare dans les tragédies de Ducis, interprétées par Talma. Beyle fut le premier à admirer Shakspeare. Ce n'est qu'avec la venue de Miss Smithson et Macready à Paris que l'explosion se fit ; Dumas nous raconte dans ses *Mémoires* quelle révélation ce fut pour lui et pour ses amis, et comment ce fut le véritable point de départ de leur production. Mais, ici, l'on trouve le point de contact entre le public anglais et français ; ils touchent, si l'on peut dire, l'œuvre par deux côtés différents. Pour les Anglais, sauf Lamb, le côté romantique, lunaire, si l'on peut dire, de Shakspeare reste, sinon négligé, au moins inapprécié à sa juste valeur. Ce fut au contraire celui qui frappa le plus nos romantiques français ; Berlioz, leur représentant en musique, dans son *Roméo et Juliette*, dans sa *Béatrice*, se baigna dans le



halo fantastique qui entoure les personnages des comédies de Shakspeare ; Musset transporta ses rêveries dans les domaines de Viola et de Rosalinde ; enfin Gautier, dans *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, fit pour « *As you like it* » ce que Goëthe avait déjà fait pour *Hamlet* ; il en décrivit la représentation idéale, dans un décor de fantaisie. Heine est le seul, qui, en Allemagne, ait insisté sur ce côté de l'œuvre de Shakspeare, car ses compatriotes, comme leurs cousins d'Angleterre, préférèrent au Shakspeare des sonnets et des comédies celui des drames historiques.

Un génie n'est complet, un chef-d'œuvre n'est créé dans le temps et dans l'espace que quand les différentes facettes de ce diamant ont reçu la lumière de la compréhension admirative, quand la chaleur de l'enthousiasme l'entoure et le vivifie. Shakspeare, après trois siècles, est enfin devenu le grand poète européen, et ce sont les trois grandes nations qui ont, par leurs artistes, « développé », suivant le terme photographique, l'image confuse et négative que le public s'en faisait.

De même la traduction, ou plutôt l'enchâssement des contes et des poésies d'E.-A. Poë dans la prose de Baudelaire et de Mallarmé a révélé aux peuples anglo-saxons un de leurs génies les plus douloureux et les plus rares, et l'école symboliste, les Mallarmé, les Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, en sacrant dans ce poète le grand théoricien de l'art et de la beauté, l'ont soulevé jusqu'à la gloire et l'ont fait comprendre à ses compatriotes.

Ces actions en retour, ces renaissances d'un génie oublié, surprennent toujours un peu la nation dont il était originaire, mais c'est surtout parce que le contact d'une autre nation a fait ressortir tout un côté, auquel la première était réfractaire, qu'elle comprend quand il lui est présenté ainsi. On peut dire dans ce sens qu'il y a un côté français (ou ne pouvant être compris que par les Français) dans le génie de Shakspeare ou d'E. Poë.

Les grandes figures de l'histoire, traitées et arrangées par la littérature, subissent aussi une transformation grâce au contact. Aux XII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles, c'est l'idée de chevalerie qui se manifeste surtout en France et se répand ensuite en Espagne, en Italie. Il suffit d'étudier par exemple dans la belle étude de Gaston Paris, comment la conception chrétienne de Charlemagne s'affirme d'abord littérairement en France ; puis passe en Italie, prenant en Allemagne, en Espagne, dans chaque nation une couleur différente. Mais la figure héroïque, la plus vraie, en somme, de Charlemagne n'est-elle pas revenue de ce voyage plus complète, et chaque nation n'a-t-elle pas ajouté un trait négligé ou oublié par les autres, composant ainsi une gloire européenne ?

Qui pourrait dire qu'un seul côté de cette grande figure eût suffi à

satisfaire l'imagination, si bien indiqué fût-il, tandis que la figure entière est refaite aujourd'hui, et toute la gamme des caractères s'est complétée, faisant un accord qui ne pourra plus être rompu ni segmenté.

Il en est de même pour Alexandre au moyen âge ; il est le roi féodal, généreux pour ses amis, cruel pour ses ennemis, dans Aubry de Briançon, Alexandre de Bernay, mais il devient bonasse, comme un bon duc de Bourgogne, dans les *Continuations*, les *Vœux du Paon* ; la figure s'alourdit sous l'influence du pays d'empire, pour se transformer enfin dans Perceforest en pure conception chevaleresque, on pourrait même dire se fixer là où elle reste pour le vulgaire, en roi de trèfle.

Napoléon enfin, qui est pourtant d'hier, revêt déjà une forme de légende. En France même, le Napoléon de Barbier, le « Corse à cheveux plats », ne devient-il pas le Bonaparte « pâle sous ses longs cheveux noirs » des *Orientales*, et le Bounaberdi, sultan des Francs d'Europe ; celui qui « porte petit chapeau avec redingote grise » dans les *Souvenirs du peuple* ; l'idée fantastique de la narration de Balzac dans *Le médecin de campagne*, avec le petit homme vert ? Voilà autant de faces, de côtés du même personnage, toutes aussi vraies que le sec et dur portrait tracé par Stendhal et recalqué par Taine. Dans les pays conquis, en Allemagne, par exemple, il revêt l'aspect fantômal du grand empereur passant la revue nocturne. Aussi la face du César tout-puissant, suivant l'expression de Musset, « de son ombre, couvre nos plaines ».

Sans doute l'on ne peut étudier ainsi le développement d'une idée ou d'une forme que lorsqu'il s'agit d'êtres à qui naturellement les peuples ont beaucoup pensé, et dont ils ont essayé, chacun suivant son génie, de se former une idée. Mais si l'on prenait, par exemple, deux nations, comme l'Angleterre et la France, et si l'on juxtaposait l'idée que s'en font leurs nationaux et celle qu'en conçoivent les étrangers, on en aurait ainsi une image complète. C'est pourquoi il est toujours intéressant pour un Français de lire un livre comme celui de M. Bodley et pour un Anglais de connaître les impressions ou sensations de Taine ou de Bourget ; sans doute ils se cabreront parfois devant des erreurs d'appréciation, mais aussi ils apprendront comment leurs actions peuvent être jugées ; c'est comme le profil qu'on ne peut voir soi-même et qui nous étonne toujours ; on ne se connaît jamais sous certains aspects, et c'est là le service que nous rendent dans leurs critiques les nations étrangères.

Quel est l'élément réfractaire à tout contact, sinon l'élément individuel même de la nation. Il existe dans chaque littérature des êtres

entièrement nationaux, c'est-à-dire qui ont retrouvé les éléments fondamentaux de leur race et de leur milieu. Villon, Rabelais, Montaigne, La Fontaine, Musset, Verlaine : voilà une lignée française qui ne peut être pénétrée par aucune influence du dehors. Chaque nation pourrait présenter sa lignée, mais le point essentiel qui est à noter est que ces génies autochtones sont rarement compris de leur époque et de leurs contemporains, mais reconnus, sinon appréciés, par le jugement des étrangers. Wagner remarque, avec une certaine amertume, que ce qu'il y avait d'essentiellement allemand dans les *Meistersänger* avait été senti par les quelques amis français qu'il avait invités aux représentations de Munich, tandis que le public allemand passait indifférent à côté de son bien, de son héritage.

Jadis, dans les procès de sorcières, on cherchait avec un fer rouge certains points sensibles sur le corps des patientes, et le contact les faisait crier. Les nations sont, comme ces sorcières ; la critique du dehors les laisse indifférentes tant qu'elle passe sur la partie « charmée » : c'est-à-dire insensibilisée par l'amour-propre. Mais que le fer, ou la plume, touche la place secrète et le patient criera.

Ces « points », dans chaque nation, sont ce qui les « caractérise » ; la vertu qu'elles se croient seules à posséder, le vice auquel elles ne veulent pas qu'on touche. Pour ne parler que des vertus, en Angleterre, depuis deux siècles (la notion n'existait pas auparavant), on s'est fait une idée particulière du concept de « gentleman », et un étranger qui vit en Angleterre peut passer des nuits blanches à compiler les dictionnaires, il n'arrivera jamais même à un mille de distance de la vraie compréhension. Il pourra poursuivre son enquête dans les différentes classes de la société, il n'aura que la consolation de savoir que certaines personnes se reconnaissent « gentlemen », tandis que d'autres se déclarent à jamais incapables d'arriver à ce beau titre. S'il pousse la hardiesse jusqu'à demander à un « gentleman », reconnu tel par lui-même et par son entourage immédiat, une explication, on lui répondra par cette définition qu'un « gentleman » n'est pas un « cad », ce qui augmente la difficulté.

Dans les théâtres de mélodrames, le gentleman se reconnaît par cette faculté particulière d'abattre d'un coup de poing tous ceux qui ne sont pas « gentlemen ». Il peut être officier de marine, soldat ou clergyman ; mais le « villain » roulera toujours à un moment donné sous ses pieds, en promettant de se venger. Ce qu'il y a de plus curieux, c'est que le villain lui-même a conscience de son infériorité sociale et morale vis-à-vis de son adversaire.

Si l'on monte un peu plus haut, ou si l'on veut dans une différente

direction, jusqu'à la « novel » de la circulating Library, le « gentleman » fleurit à chaque page; c'est lui qui fera le riche mariage, ou du moins le mariage qui deviendra riche. Un roman demeure dans l'histoire des idées, c'est celui qui s'appelle : « John Halifax, gentleman ». Et il soulève une question intéressante.

Peut-on devenir un gentleman ? C'est une question à laquelle il est très difficile de répondre. D'après l'auteur de « John Halifax », un jeune apprenti s'élève, échelon par échelon, jusqu'au sommet de l'échelle ; mais il semble bien qu'il ne soit devenu que respectable, ce qui est bien une autre histoire.

Enfin, dans la littérature proprement dite, on ne parle pas souvent du concept « gentleman », mais il semble qu'on le sente plus. L'atmosphère est, à proprement parler « gentlemanlike » ; et si la notion devient plus confuse, elle « hante » pour ainsi dire les personnages et détermine leurs actions.

C'est un phénomène bien curieux que la qualité à laquelle tient le plus une nation, soit précisément celle qu'elle peut le moins définir. L'honneur, tel que le définissait Montesquieu et après lui Chateaubriand, semble avoir été de même une atmosphère dans laquelle se mouvait l'aristocratie française. Mais la grandeur mélancolique qu'atteint ce sentiment dans les œuvres d'Alfred de Vigny a quelque chose de funéraire; il semble que le dernier gentilhomme de la littérature française ait voulu élever un tombeau magnifique à un sentiment qui s'éteignait avec lui.

Chaque nation, et pour être plus précis, chaque période de la vie d'une nation, chaque moment de son existence littéraire ou sociale, s'est drapée dans une atmosphère qui lui est propre, comme dans un manteau. Et c'est probablement pour éviter le contact qu'engendre la discussion, que chaque nation ne veut expliquer ni déterminer sa qualité spéciale; la langue se fait trouble à dessein, semble-t-il, de façon à empêcher toute traduction. Il y a là une pudeur nationale qui ne permet pas qu'on touche à l'arche sainte, la personnalité même.

Ainsi dans les anciens temples, on avait inventé une langue spéciale, connue des adeptes seuls, et qu'aucun profane ne pouvait comprendre. Ce qui était important, au fond, ce n'était pas le dieu, mais le voile.

Dans cette rapide esquisse du contact en littérature, où l'on a essayé d'en noter les différents caractères, il ne faut pas oublier ce sentiment que provoque le contact : la haine. En politique comme en littérature, n'est-ce pas par la clairvoyance de la haine que l'on arrive à discerner les différentes infériorités de la nation rivale, tout en faisant ressortir les qualités contraires dans son propre pays ? N'est-ce

pas ainsi que Lessing fit sortir la littérature allemande de la haine du classicisme de Voltaire, tout en s'aidant des théories de Diderot? De même en Angleterre, durant la séparation momentanée qui se fit entre elle et la France, le génie national s'affirma, mais cette affirmation, suivant l'expression d'Hegel, amena sa propre négation, c'est-à-dire le besoin de contrôle, le sens de la limitation.

Ainsi lorsque Balzac, dans le *Lys dans la vallée*, fait dire à Madame de Mortsauf : « La France et l'Angleterre ne sont-elles pas toujours ennemies? Madeleine sait cela, elle sait qu'une mer inconnue les sépare, mer *froide*, mer *orageuse* », il exprime magnifiquement cette séparation qui se produisit si souvent entre les deux nations. Mais, même dans ces divorces momentanés, il semble que les deux pays ne pouvaient se désintéresser complètement l'un de l'autre; leur haine même était créatrice, puisqu'elle leur faisait développer et accentuer le génie national.

Pour l'œil d'un Spinoza qui n'étudie que le jeu des forces, et qui n'a ni pleurs, ni rire, mais compréhension pure, le choc des passions, l'action et la réaction, le flux et le reflux ne sont que le prolongement d'un même phénomène; ce sont les simples pulsations de la vie et de l'esprit; et les rencontres des vagues s'abolissent, vues d'une certaine distance, pour faire place au mouvement rythmique, au grand courant du large.

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## LITERARY FAME : A RENAISSANCE STUDY

It is commonly though vaguely known that the desire and hope for personal glory is both an ancient and a modern sentiment, rather than a medieval one ; that this is true above all of the posthumous glory which is gained by the written word either for the author or for those whom he celebrates ; and that the sentiment in question is one of the clear legacies of the classic world to the new learning. Burckhardt's admirable 'pages' on "The modern idea of fame" refer chiefly to Italy in the fourteenth century. The whole subject is a vast one and would need for its treatment a book ; the following pages offer materials for some of the chapters, and notify problems that the historian of thought would have to consider. A study of our English Renaissance reveals two conflicting strains of feeling about this matter ; and they can be traced back, first to the early revival of learning, and thence, at any rate, to Latin antiquity.

### I

The wish to confer and receive lasting glory is implied in the very notion of some of the literary forms perfected by the Greeks. The drama and the ordinary lyric, as well as minor forms like the satiric and philosophic poem, do not, any more than the prose of oratory and speculation, look expressly to the future. But the epic aims at recalling the past and bequeathing it to memory ; and if this wish is more casually present in the primitive epic, it is plain when the epic becomes in Virgil's hands racial and imperial. And it becomes yet more

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1. *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, tr. Middlemore, 1898. Pt. ii, ch. 3, pp. 139-153.

apparent in the ancient historical writings, when history passes, with Plutarch, into the shape of patriotic biography. "Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth unto all good and just men, that they are far more praised and esteemed after their death, than before, because that envy doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them<sup>1</sup>". But in the ode, whether triumphal or funeral, national or personal; in the elegiac idyll; and in the lyrical epitaph or epigram, it is implied that a name is preserved by the power of verse; and the mere existence of such noble forms of art goes to prove that the aspiration is a sound one. In verses like those of Simonides<sup>2</sup> and Tyrtaeus the prophecy of fame offered to the Spartan and Athenian heroes is explicit. So in the promise of Theognis to Cynrus; and Pindar returns again and again to the theme. To have a fair fortune, he says, is the first of prizes: fair fame is the second; and the highest garland is his who lights upon both and wins them<sup>3</sup>. Words are longer-lived than deeds, and to leave a fair name to a fortunate family makes black death more beautiful<sup>4</sup>. A word well said never dies, it passes continually bearing fruit over land and sea, like a ray of noble deeds, unquenchable for ever<sup>5</sup>. Such passages could certainly be multiplied: I cannot say whether a full review would alter the impression, that the Greek poets showed less egotism in this matter than their Latin debtors, and thought more of their subjects than of themselves.

On the other hand the Roman poet was exalted by the sense of belonging to a great single state or empire with an indestructible language. He cordially believed in glory and thought it worth winning and worth promising and in his power to bestow. His motto is the "volito vivo" per ora virum" which is found in the saved fragments of Ennius. Horace<sup>6</sup>, Ovid<sup>7</sup>, and Propertius<sup>8</sup>, in view of the material splendours of the city, which their verse was to outlive, started the topic so constantly harped on even in the late Renaissance. The lines of Propertius forecast Spenser or du Bellay:

1. North's very accurate English for Plutarch, *Numa*, ch. 22. See Thuc. ii. 44-46.

2. On the Dead at Thermopylae (no. 4, Bergk); 99 (ἄσβεστον κλέος οἷδε); 100 (εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν). Theognis, ll. 237 foll.

3. *Pyth.* i. 99.

4. *Pyth.* xi. 56.

5. *Isth.* iii [iv] 58. See too *Ol.* x [xi] 4, xi [x] 91-96, *Nem.* vi. 31.

6. *Odes* iii. 30 (exegi monumentum).

7. *Met.* xv. 871.

8. *Eleg.* iii [iv] 2. 17-24.

nam neque pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti  
 nec Iovis Elei caelum imitata domus  
 nec Mausolei dives fortuna sepulcri  
 mortis ab extrema condicione vacant.  
 Aut illis flamma aut imber subducat honores,  
 annorum aut ictus pondera victa ruent.  
 At non ingenio quaesitum nomen ab aevo  
 excidet; ingenio stat sine morte decus.

In ushering forth a great work the Roman liked to adopt some such lofty formula, like a last rite at the opening of a temple<sup>1</sup>. To the humanist Petrarch, who felt warranted in echoing their accents<sup>2</sup>, many centuries seemed to bear out their confidence, when he saw their Latin fresh amid the material changes of Rome.

Cicero speaks less of literary (*gloria*) than of civic and less of posthumous than of contemporary fame (*bona fama*), but this he treats variably. Usually he vindicates the love of glory and places it high in his ethical programme. Sometimes it is an absolute good; oftener it is, as the more liberal Stoics allowed<sup>3</sup>, derivative and desirable though not a good of the highest kind; at other times it is almost vanity. The good reputation, which increases the usefulness of a public man in his lifetime, is analysed into the love, the admiration, and the confidence of his fellows; nothing can win it but genuine service<sup>4</sup>. In

1. See the Ovidian and Horatian passages just cited; the "vive, precor" of Statius, *Thebais* xii. 816; Catull. i. 10; the "fortunati ambo" of *Aen.* ix. 446. See Martial, *Epig.* i. 1, iii. 95, v. 15, v. 60, etc.

2. *Africa. Opera*, Basileae, 1554, vol. ii. p. 1274 a. Bk. i. *ad init.* [to his patron]

...quantum tua clara favori  
 Fama meo conferre potest, modo mitis in umbra  
 Nominis ista tui dirum spretura venenum  
 Invidiae latuisse velis, ubi nulla vetustas  
 Interea et nulli rodent mea nomina vermes.

Bk. viii, p. 1322 a :

Credite, cunctarum longe blandissima rerum est  
 Gloria, nec levibus stimulis agit insita; fortes  
 Egregiosque animos generosaque pectora pulsat.

3. See Zeller, *Stoics &c.* Eng. tr. p. 284; fame was at best admitted, it seems, to be a *προηγμένον*, or derivative good. Cic. *de Fin.* iii. 17, implies this, and rejects *gloria* while accepting *bona fama* for its uses.

4. *De Off.* ii. 9-14. Vera gloria radices agit atque etiam propagatur, ficta omnia celeriter tanquam flosculi decidunt, nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum.



general, fame is a kind of parasite, echo, or reflection of virtue, and for that reason is to be coveted. The context<sup>1</sup> suggests that the two books *De Gloria*, which Petrarch says that he lent to his teacher Convevole and so lost, were on the subject of a public man's contemporary repute. The adoration of Cicero by the humanists helped to consecrate the cult of fame in general. On the other hand, one of his stateliest passages is in the contrary sense, and fell in with the tone of the middle ages, to which it was well known through the commentary of Macrobius. The *Somnium Scipionis*, in the sixth book of the *De Republica* (the bulk of which was only found in the nineteenth century<sup>2</sup> and which would thus form a curious comment on our theme), sets forth, through the mouth of Africanus, the enemy's case. Deluge and fire destroy all monuments. The great tracts of desert in the earth limit the scope of glory in space, as the short memories of men limit it in time<sup>3</sup>. How long will those who talk of you, have for talking? The wise man must look to his eternal home and stake his hopes upon no human rewards. Virtue must draw us by her own charm. The peroration echoes down so late in literature, and so well expresses the stricter view of the ancients, that it may be given:

Quid de te alii loquantur ipsi videant: sed loquentur tamen. Sermo autem omnis ille et angustiis cingitur iis regionum, quas vides, nec unquam de ullo perennis fuit, et obruitur hominum interitu et oblivione posteritatis exstinguitur<sup>4</sup>.

1. The aim of contrasting real with hollow fame runs through the passages in the *Tusculans*, and is seen not only in the well-known one, *Etsi enim nihil habet in se gloria cur expetatur, tamen virtutem tanquam umbra sequitur* (i. 45. 109), but also in iii. 2. 3:

Est enim gloria solida res quaedam et expressa, non adumbrata; ea est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene iudicantium de eccellente virtute; ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago. Quae quia recte factorum plerumque comes est, non est bonis viris repudianda.

Holden's note on the place in *De Off.* also supplies another eloquent description from *Pro Marc.* viii:

est illustris ac pervagata multorum et magnorum vel in suos vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum.

2. Leopardi's Ode (1820) to Angelo Mai on this occasion shews a temper other than that of the humanist. *Opere*, ed. Ranieri, 1882, ii. 45.

3. Quibus amputatis cernis profecto quantis in angustiis vestra gloria se dilatari velit... Quid autem interest ab iis qui postea nascentur sermonem fore de te, quum ab iis nullus fuerit qui ante nati sunt?... quum praesertim apud eos ipsos quibus audiri nomen nostrum potest, nemo unius anni memoriam consequi potest? (vi. 21. 23.)

4. vi. 23. 25. Cf. The satiric and pessimistic handling in Juv. *Sat.* x. 114 foll.

Seneca seems to have thought the matter out more precisely, from the Stoical standpoint, than other writers. There are passages in his *Epistles* which may well have been in the mind of Samuel Daniel, whom I quote below. Seneca, despite some coldness of form, had weight not only after but before the revival of letters. He makes many concessions to the love of glory, and promises, not altogether flatteringly, to preserve the name of his friend Lucilius by mentioning him in his correspondence<sup>1</sup>. It is striking to find the official philosopher of Latin Stoicism falling into "that last infirmity". But he draws a double distinction, first between the praise of<sup>2</sup> the good and wise and that of the many, and then between the praise of posterity and that of contemporaries. Then he identifies the two distinctions; and in a touching and magnificent passage utters his belief in the final judgment of history. Democritus, Socrates, and Cato, seemed madmen to their time. Though all those of a man's own age are instructed by envy to keep silence, those will come hereafter who will judge without rancour or favour; and this is the only undying reward of goodness<sup>3</sup>. Yet the praise of a single worthy man, though it be unuttered in public (*laus*, not *laudatio*) suffices<sup>4</sup>.

1. Nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistolae non sinunt... Profunda super nos altitudo temporis veniet, pauca ingenia caput exerent et in idem quandoque silentium abitura oblivioni resistent ac se diu vindicabunt. Quod Epicurus amico suo potuit promittere, hoc tibi promitto, Lucili: habebō apud posteros gratiam, possum mecum duratura nomina educere (*Ep.* 21. 6).

2. Gloria multorum iudiciis constat, claritas bonorum.

3. Quamdiu videbatur furere Democritus! vix recepit Socratem fama. Quamdiu Catonem civitas ignoravit! respuit nec intellexit, nisi cum perdidit... paucis natus est, qui populum aetatis suae cogitat; multa annorum milia, multa populorum supervenient; ad illa respice. Etiam si omnibus tecum viventibus silentium livor indixerit, venient, qui sine offensa, sine gratia iudicent. Si quod est pretium virtutis ex fama, nec hoc interit. Ad nos quidem nihil pertinebit posterorum sermo; tamen etiam non sentientes colet ac frequentabit (*Ep.* 79.147).

4. *Ep.* 102. 18. I can find no more searching modern scrutiny of the worth of fame than Schopenhauer's: (*Parerga und Paralipomena*, vol. i. pp. 437 foll. in Grisebach's Leipzig edition: *Aphorismen zur Lebensweisheit: Von Dem, was Einer vorstellt*; also in vol. ii, pp. 487 foll., *Von Urtheil, Kritik, Beifall, und Ruhm*, § 242). Is Seneca very modern, or is Schopenhauer very antique in spirit? The Stoic is quoted with much approval, and the analysis, though far closer, follows on his lines. Schopenhauer's angry sense of being slighted by his time and land leads him to dwell fiercely on the *livor silentii* and on the theme that the really great man seeks and has only posthumous applause; but he works these ideas out in the noblest style. His view is nearly the same as the more easy version of Stoicism, that fame, if not strictly a good, is desirable, and follows upon true desert. His own

This view, at once higher and saner, seems to have been less familiar or less acceptable to the middle ages than the more rigid one represented in Boethius, whose contempt of every worldly good fitted in with the gloomier theological theory, while his consolations were adjusted, possibly in his own mind, certainly by his readers, to those offered by Christianity: in so far at least as he preached an eternal order of excellence and love, which it was the work of the good man to reflect as in a small mirror. More than any writer, he represented the higher thought of the old world to the centuries before the Renaissance. In his reflections on fame<sup>1</sup> he follows and quotes the *Somnium Scipionis*. The earth, he repeats, is only a spot in the uni-

view of art as producing the only permanent things and giving the only valid satisfaction causes him, however, to give a more nearly absolute value than Seneca to true posthumous fame, when it is bestowed on works of art, and is approved alike by the seal of time and the scorn of contemporaries. Rank and Honour form the other sections of "was Einer vorstellt" as goods; Fame (Ruhm) is higher and sounder than these. There is a curious likeness to the tone of Spenser and other Elizabethans in his attacks upon the destructive principle of calumny, *Der Neid*, the Blatant Beast. To touch this further exceeds our limits, but one or two of Schopenhauer's sentences may be quoted:

Jedoch auch, wenn man seinen Blick weiter ausdehnt und das Lob der Zeitgenossen aller Zeiten überhaupt ins Auge fasst, wird man finden, das dasselbe eigentlich immer eine Hure ist, prostituiert und besudelt durch tausend Unwürdige, denen es zu Theil geworden... Hingegen ist der Ruhm bei der Nachwelt eine stolze, spröde Schöne, die sich nur dem Würdigen, dem Sieger, dem seltenen Helden hingiebt...

Ja, wer einen wirklich grossen Gedanken erzeugt, wird, schon im Augenblicke der Konzeption derselben, seines Zusammenhanges mit den kommenden Geschlechtern inne; so dass er dabei die Ausdehnung seines Daseins durch Jahrhunderte fühlt und auf diese Weise, wie für die Nachkommen, so auch mit ihnen lebt. Wenn nun andererseits wir, von der Bewunderung eines grossen Geistes, dessen Werke uns eben beschäftigt haben, ergriffen, ihn zu uns heranzuwünschen, ihn sehn, sprechen, und unter uns besitzen möchten; so bleibt auch diese Sehnsucht nicht unerwidert: denn auch er hat sich gesehnt nach einer anerkennenden Nachwelt, welche ihm die Ehre, Dank, und Liebe zollen würde, die eine neiderfüllte Mitwelt ihm verweigerte.

This profound sentence identifies the love of fame, in its ground-principle, with the love of offspring, of begetting something that shall continue our real essence, so that our personal existence counts for little to us. It recurs in Shakspeare; compare the parallel from Plato to his *Sonnets* quoted *post*.

1. A curious parallel recurs in that necessary document of the Renaissance mind, Jerome Cardan's *De proprii vita liber* (died 1576). The great physician diagnoses the love of fame as a kind of disease; but he is more savage than the Stoic, and heralds the disgust of the modern pessimist of Leopardi's type, and the general indifference of the later modern intellect, when philosophising, to posthumous glory.

verse; much of it is uninhabited; much is inhabited by nations of alien tongue, whom our glory never reaches<sup>1</sup>: and the sequel may be given in the rendering of Chaucer, which is for him unusually close, and is done in his heartfelt and vivacious way. We shall see that his own notion of Fame was coloured by that of Boethius:

But how many a man, that was ful noble in his tyme, hath the wrecchid and nedy foryetynge of writeris put out of mynde and doon away; al be it so that, certes, thilke wrytynges profiten litel, the whiche wrytynges long and dirk eelde doth away, both hem and ek hir auctours? But yow men semeth to geten you a perdurable, whan ye thynken that in tyme comynge your fame schal lasten.

But natheles yif thou wolt maken comparysoun to the endless spaces of eternyte, what thyng hastow by whiche thou mayst reioisen the of long lastynge of thi name? ... And forthi is it that although renome, of as longe tyme as evere the list thynken, were thought to the regard of eternyte, that is unstaunchable and infynyt, it ne sholde nat only semen litel, but pleyntliche ryght noght (si cum inexhausta aetate cogitetur, non parva sed plane nulla esse videatur).

The accompanying "metre" of Boethius sums up this matter, and ends:

Quod si putatis longius vitam trahi  
mortalis aura nominis,  
cum sera vobis rapiet hoc etiam dies,  
iam vos secunda mors manet.

The "second death" of a man, or the speedy oblivion of his name, is a sharp phrase, expressive of the sterner ancient opinion on the subject of glory. It is easy to see how it chimed in with medieval religious sentiment, which could ignore and despise the second death on earth when the second life, beyond it, was everything.

Our increased sense of the fugitiveness of the material universe, books included, may help to answer for this.

Scribes, inquam, quomodo legenda: Et de qua re praeclara, et adeo tibi nota, ut desiderare legentes possint? quo stylo, qua sermonis elegantia ut legere sustineant? sit ut legant. nonne aevo praeterlabente, in singulos dies fiet auctio, ut prius scripta contemnantur, nedum negligantur? At durabunt aliquot annis? quot? centum? mille? decies mille?... Atque omnino cum desitura sint, etiam si per relictus Mundus renovaretur, ut Academici volunt, non minus quam si ut initium habet, et finem accepturus est, nil interest an post decimam diem, an decem millia myriadum annorum? Nihil utrumque, et ex aequo ad aeternitatis spatium. Interim tu discruciaris spe, metu torqueris, laboribus enervaberis? quicquid vitae est reliquum suavis amittas? O egregium inventum! (cap. ix, *Cogitatio de nomine perpetuando*).

1. Intra unius gentis terminos praeclara illa famae immortalitas coarctabitur... (*De Cons.* ii, 7).

## II

For the value of a man's soul in the eye of heaven was a totally distinct conception from that of the value of his personality to himself; the first is Christian and medieval, the second is classical and secular and belongs to the Renaissance. The passion for fame is rooted in the conviction that a man's personality is valuable to himself. The notion, indeed that a personality is best expressed and preserved in artistic form, and that form alone endures, is hardly more than implicit until much more recent times. With the comparative apathy to fame in the middle ages may be connected the anonymity of so much medieval art, the lack of a personal stamp in so much of the great body of Romance, and that general weakness of the sense of "copyright", (even after printing came) which made unowned borrowing no theft. Perfect expression of the chivalrous feeling about honour is given by Chaucer in the *Knight's Tale* : there is no thought of fame being ensured by verse; Theseus merely speaks of the praise of dying well and not too late :

And certainly a man hath most honour  
 To dyen in his excellence and flour  
 Whan he is siker of his gode name ;  
 Than hath he doon his freend, ne him, no shame.  
 And gladder oghte his freend been of his deeth  
 Whan with honour upyolden is his breeth  
 Than whan his name apalled is for age ;  
 For all forgeten is his vasselage.  
 Than is it best, as for a worthy fame,  
 To dyen whan that he is best of fame. <sup>1</sup>

But in his *House of Fame* Chaucer mainly thinks of the vanity and caprice of the goddess : it is such that she sometimes even makes a right award, though from no right motive. She will hardly give a man what he wants, be it even oblivion, unless he expects that she will not do so. This humorous and sad-ironic treatment is doubtless partly coloured by the teaching of Boethius. Chaucer disowns, as it seems, with a shrug of amusement, any expectation of glory for himself. Yet, though so little touched by the new learning, he so far

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1. A 3047-3056.

approaches it as to make, no doubt on Italian models <sup>1</sup>, one of those lists, so common at the Renaissance, of the poets who have assured their names durably. The actual list in its range and choice is medieval. The prototype of Fame is not *Gloria* but the Ovidian goddess, who again is akin to the *Fama* of Virgil <sup>2</sup>. The term "medieval" is to be defined not by dates but by feeling, and Dante in this matter is more modern than Chaucer, though he also is not within view of the new learning. Burckhardt, perhaps, treats Dante too exclusively as a man of the Renaissance, on the strength of several stately passages in which he shews the passion for glory which Boccaccio ascribes to him <sup>3</sup>.

But Dante's usual attitude may be described as that of Stoicism wrought into Christianity; it is wholly different from Petrarch's, although the two views, we shall see, are still struggling in Petrarch. Burckhardt well says: "In his great poem he firmly maintains the emptiness of fame, although in a manner which betrays that his heart was not set free from the longing for it." In the sphere of Mercury <sup>4</sup> are the souls who have been active in order that honour and glory may come to them, and the rays of the divine love rest less fully upon those whose desires are stayed upon such things. In the fuller passage <sup>5</sup> the desire of fame is a form of pride, and is punished in purgatory by its own nature. Dante finds that the "grand passion for excelling" defeats itself, because one reputation is soon displaced by another, and that again by a third. The strain of the *Somnium Scipionis* and of Boethius seems again to be remembered here: Mr Shadwell's version, in Marvell's measure, is the best to quote:

What if from thee thy flesh thou shed,  
Outworn with length of days, instead

1. Cp. Dante, *Inf.*, v; Petrarch, *Trionfo della Fama*; Boccaccio, *Amorosa Visione*. Compare too the later catalogue of Skelton in his *Crown of Laurel*, a poem adapted freely from Chaucer's. These lists are very instructive in the history of the reputation of the classics.

2. *Aen.* iv, 173-197.

3. The chief of these is in *De Monarchia*, i, 1: *Omnium hominum in quos amorem veritatis natura superior impressit, hoc maxime interesse videtur, ut quemadmodum de labore antiquorum ditati sunt, ita et ipsi posteris prolaborerent, quatenus ab eis posteritas habeat quo ditetur...* In proposito est, hanc [Monarchiae notitiam] de suis enucleare latibulis, tum ut utiliter mundo pervigilem, tum etiam ut palmam tanti bravii primus in meam gloriam adipiscar.

4. *Par.* vi, 112.

5. *Purg.* xi, 85-117.

Of dying a child, before  
Thy baby prattle o'er;

Will any fame be thine at last,  
After a thousand years are past?  
A thousand years, how small  
A space, when matched with all

The period of eternity!  
'Tis but the twinkling of an eye  
To orb that tardiest rolls  
About the heavenly poles.

Chaucer, therefore, and Dante may be considered as just touching, but not really sharing in, the temper towards fame generated by the revival, and fully visible, while not absolutely victorious, in Petrarch.

Boccaccio, in his preface to *de Claris Mulieribus*, declines to narrow his subject to merely virtuous and edifying persons. That would leave the treatment too rigid ("strictum"). He will also describe those who are known "quocunque ex facinore orbi vulgato". He adds that stories about great criminals are an incentive to virtue; but he really has the true Renaissance passion for character, for celebrities, on their own account. Still, though I do not profess to have searched carefully through Boccaccio, and speak with reserve, I cannot find that the humanist interest in glory stirred in him as it always did in Petrarch, in spite of his devoutly putting together so-called epics in order to wipe out the reproach of Dante that no Italian "arma poetasse". The section on the triumph of glory in *Amorosa Visione* has been touched on, but it is curious rather than inspiring. Petrarch matters far more to our story.

A recent historian, Prof. Volpi, says, not too strongly:

Petrarch was the first man in the middle ages to have clearly and precisely this conception of surviving by notable works in the memory of men; a conception which belongs to the peoples of old and which Petrarch drew from his study of the classics, where he so often found the longing for renown... The works of Roman art, both plastic art and the art of words, which were more familiar to him than the Greek, what were they but a consecration of noble enterprises? Is it not one of the noblest tasks of art to save fair and great things from oblivion? Glory was a spur which never left Petrarch at rest<sup>1</sup>.

Petrarch was, it is admitted, the first man to whom the ancients, as newly rediscovered, were the principle of his intellectual life, the

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1. *Storia letteraria d'Italia; Il Trecento*, Milan, n. d., p. 34.

star of his literary passion, and the model for his style. His immense acquaintance with the Latin classics quickened his sense that in letters, in poetry, lay the way to immortality. If we compare his list of old authors in *Trionfo della Fama* with those of Dante and Chaucer, we see that the proof positive of the stability of fame must have seemed to him far more extensive than it could to them; although, in that sonorous, somewhat dry poem, the abstractions of the middle age are still playing their part. The Triumph of Love is shortlived; Laura dies; that is the Triumph of Death. But over Death triumphs Fame; and a procession defiles past, as on a frieze, of the great men of old, — warriors, generals, and at last writers and thinkers. But over Fame triumphs Time, and nothing prevails over Time but Divinity, or true religion. The Triumph of Divinity is Petrarch's homage to his faith, which will presently appear again. But the conception of the triumph of Time over Fame takes a new shape, which is destined to bulk large among the humanists. It is more than a revival of the old reflections of Boethius. It represents also a medieval revulsion against that classical pride and confidence in glory, which wrought itself out to its utmost, and so provoked once more the complementary and destructive idea of Time the conqueror. This was greatly stimulated by the sight of the ruins of ancient buildings and ancient art in Rome. Down to the late sixteenth century can be seen these two ideas striving against each other, according as the written record or the marred masonry is the object of attention. Meantime Petrarch drinks to the full of the old Latin hope, now in its hour of resurrection. His Latin poem, *Africa*, on the Second Punic war, is written while he is rising on a wave of such exaltation. And his Latin sketch of his own life<sup>1</sup> he dedicates to Posterity, with a wistful doubt, as though to give himself the stray chance, which he yet secretly hopes is a fair one, of surviving.

Suppose that perchance thou hear something about me; doubtful as it may be whether my slender and obscure name can reach any distance either in time or in space; perhaps thou wilt care to know what manner of man I was, or what was the upshot of my works, especially of those whose fame may have reached thee or of whose unsubstantial name thou mayst have heard. The voices of men will vary, for almost every man talks as he is moved by his pleasure, not by truth; nor is any measure observed in dealing out either praise or infamy.

But this desire of a name seldom becomes a full assurance, for

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1. *Francisci Petrarchae... Opera*, Basileae, 1554, vol. i. *De Origine, &c., ad. init.*



Petrarch was not born free, and that is what makes him interesting. As his sensitive soul develops, we can trace a counter-feeling rising and fighting with his natural, secular one. He suffered a revulsion to ascetic feeling, and some of his Latin works are written under its influence. He lets us trace the clash of the currents in his mind, for he is one of the first masters and publishers of subtle self-analysis <sup>1</sup>. We can see the strife within him of the fever and of what, as he came half to think, was the antidote. In a brief <sup>2</sup> dialogue between Hope and Reason, who represents the saving religious monitor, while Hope is the voice of the secular man, the issue is contested. Hope stubbornly ignores the words of reasoning, and keeps stubbornly repeating

Famosus ero... famam inveniam post mortem... si famosus sum dum vivo, cur non famosior sim post mortem?

Reason preaches, that many like Ovid and Statius have promised themselves renown. Yet many famous men are forgotten after death, who owed their living fame to their behaviour to their "clear brow", their kindly greeting, their goodness to those near them, and shelter to their clients, and their general urbanity. Neither noble deeds nor writings will guarantee survival, for knowledge and eloquence vanish into vapour. Fame often is the death of the possessor as with Cicero and Demosthenes. And "what will it profit you to be praised by those who would not know you if they were to see you?" *Famosus ero*, replies the poet. In another work, one of his most intimate, *De Contemptu Mundi*, he introduces St. Augustine, whose *Confessions* <sup>3</sup> did much to change Petrarch's spirit, playing the part of confessor, and eliciting, as at a shrift, every weakness of his pupil. It is carefully written: I fear Petrarch hoped that posterity would read about his acquired scorn of its opinion <sup>4</sup>. He is full of these shifting and equivocal feelings. The voice of the father of the church is that of Petrarch's own over-sharpened conscience, of his misgivings which sway him more and more as he analyses fame <sup>5</sup>.

1. Cp. G. Körting, *Petrarca, Sein Leben und Werke*, Leipz., 1878, p. 647 foll.

2. *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae*, Bk. i, 117. But see also i. 44, *De Scriptorum Fama*; i, 92, *De Gloria*; ii, 25, *De Infamia*; ii, 88, *De Celebritate nominis importuna* and ii, 130, *De Studio Famae anxio in morte*.

3. See *Conf.* x, 37, 38.

4. Ceux qui écrivent contre la gloire veulent avoir la gloire d'avoir bien écrit (Pascal, *Pensées*; — an antique idea).

5. *Dial.* iii, p. 410-415, etc.

On all this see a careful study by E. Segrè, *Studii Petrarceschi*, Florence, 1903, especially pp. 3-137: "Il *Secretum* di Petrarca e le *Confessioni* di Sant' Agostino."

Who detests the deeds and the opinions of the vulgar more than he does? Yet in their voices fame consists when it comes at all. How then place the summit of happiness in their little discourses (*sermoniunculi*)? Petrarch, says the saint, had begun both a history of Rome and his great *Africa*; what if death interrupted them? Yes, replies the poet, this had nearly taken place; and in his extreme danger, finding *Africa* unfinished, he had had an impulse to burn it, rather than trust the last improvements to any of his friends. "*Africa*, which lies eternally under the blaze of the sun, and had also thrice been burned up by the Roman torches, was nearly consumed in my flames as well; but enough of that bitter recollection."

But what is it, pursues the confessor, that you really wish to make? "A work that is illustrious, choice, and notable"—not one, of course, that has the divine kind of immortality: "Human glory is enough for me, I am a mortal, and mortal things", says the natural man, letting himself slip, "are what I really crave". The confessor is instantly upon him: suppose—what he cannot be sure is not the case—that Petrarch had only a year to live, how would he spend it? Would he spend it in the business of merely tickling the ears of men, in the vain hope of fame which has mocked thousands, in putting off the occasion for making his soul to the last moment? Augustine then adds some other arguments which are rather those of a secular pessimist than of a divine. Let him think of the continual growth of new men, each anxious for his own glory, and of envy (*invidia*, *Schadenfreude*) which pursues even the dead. Let him think (the plea is of the days before printing) of the possible destruction of all books by some material catastrophe. Petrarch is not convinced; he clings fondly to vanities, and in the true humanist spirit he says "yet dignity of language, and an orderly narrative, and the weight and worth of the speaker, count for much"—*multum valet*. What, he adds, is the father's final judgment? Is he to stop working or not? Shall he not make haste to put the finishing touches, so that he may be free of care and give the rest of his days to greater spiritual matters? So speaks the incorrigible poet; but the divine is relentless, and bids him think of his end, and drop his history and his poem, by which he will, after all, not raise the glory of his hero, Scipio. The dialogue closes in the gloomier medieval strain, with an image taken from Aristotle. The life of men is like that of certain little beasts on the river Hypanis, who are born in the morning, come to their prime at noon, and die at sunset.—These ideas are now common-places: but what does that fact mean? In Petrarch we are back at the

moment when they were new and were passionately felt. *They* lived their life, longer than that of the ephemera on the Hypanis; they were turned and tested this way and that, for nearly three hundred years, fitfully enough, until it was seen how much life they had left in them, what forms of art and emotion they could disengage. If they are commonplaces now, that means, not that they are too obvious, not that they are too much part of our consciousness; but that they are *not*, in their old form, a living part of it; that art has said seemingly its last word to their classic shape; that they are now only part of the history of ideas. Their life however was long, and has been revived.

### III

Petrarch, then, more than any other writer, stands at the modern source of these characteristic conceptions of fame, which persist, in one form or another, constantly streaking literature perhaps for three centuries. Here can only be suggested certain large historical questions which by no means fall within my competence, and which await being worked out. They grow forth from the present subject. 1° The development of biography, after the patterns set in the Latin works of Petrarch and Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus*, *De Casibus Illustrium Virorum*, etc. These, which are expanded from classic models, have a poetical progeny in our own language: in the unfinished *Legend of Good Women* and *Monk's Tale* of Chaucer; in Lydgate's versification of Boccaccio, *The Falls of Princes*; and in the many editions, — which produced at least one poet, Sackville, — of the *Mirror for Magistrates*; together with the kindred verse chronicles of Drayton and his companions. 2° The modifications of the idea of fame produced by direct knowledge of the Greek writings. It might perhaps be, found in this case that if most things of moment to the modern world are "Greek in their origin", it is also true that of most such things Latin has been the messenger. 3° The movement towards antiquarian knowledge and restoration, which it is not fanciful to regard as an attempt to defeat Time, which defeats Fame. 4° The stages by which the vernaculars, Italian or English or French, came to be regarded as equally capable with the Latin of producing enduring works of art. Concurrently should be marked the long persistence of the idea that the Latin was the only or the safest vehicle for works of thought

and knowledge, as shewn in the cases of Calvin, Bodin, Grotius, Bacon, Hobbes, Spinoza, and many more <sup>1</sup>. The assertion of the modern language as a worthy casket for high poetry takes definite shape in the ideals of the Pléiade, especially in Ronsard and du Bellay ; although the means declared for achieving this is the imitation in French of antique methods and forms. [The notion of lasting on, of achieving fame, animates, we shall see, these attempts. 5° The extent of the belief in fame among the poets and writers of sixteenth century Italy. Some stray references may serve to shew that the idea was alive in the air breathed by our Elizabethan poets. A writer who is best known to us as suggesting to Sidney some of the form and tone of the *Arcadia*, Jacopo Sannazzaro, was also prolific in sonnets and canzoni, and they swarm with allusions, not wholly conventional, to the poet's conviction that his verse could stamp either praise or blame upon its objects. In 1483 he produced a *Trionfo della Fama* wherein the goddess, accompanied by Pallas and Apollo, rode with gilded wings full of eyes in a car drawn by elephants, eternising the songs of poets <sup>2</sup>. Sannazzaro wrote two nobly-strung sonnets (named by Burckhardt, *loc. cit.*), wiping out all former praise of Alfonso of Naples, because of his flight before Charles VIII. Poetry promising infamy with such confidence is hard to parallel in our own language, and one of these pieces may be quoted, as it is rarely seen.

O di rara virtù gran tempo albergo  
 Alma stimata, e posta fra gli Dei,  
 Or cieco abisso di vizj empj e rei,  
 Ove pensando sol m'adombro e mergo ;

Il nome tuo da quante carte vergo  
 Sbandito fia ; che più ch'io non vorrei,  
 È per me noto ; ond' or da' versi miei  
 Le macchie lavo, e'l dir pulisco e tergo ;

Di tuoi chiari trionfi altro volume  
 Ordire credea : ma per tua colpa or manca ;  
 Ch'augel notturno sempre abborre il lume.

1. Compare Waller's lines, *Of English verse* :

Poets that lasting marble seek  
 Must write in Latin or in Greek ;  
 We write in sand, our language grows,  
 And, like the tide, our work o'erflows.

2. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, in *Stor. litt. d'Italia*, Milan, p. 365.

Dunque n'andrai tutta assetata e stanca  
 A ber l'obblio de l'infelice fiume,  
 E rimarrà la carta illesa e bianca.

This tone is refreshing after the monotonous promises of fame to those who do not earn it by those who cannot give it.

The passion for personal glory is known to have dominated the Italian and to some extent the French Renaissance, increasing in intensity as time passed. The ancients were more impersonal, and even the Roman poets did not lay such a emphasis, which at times is almost frantic, upon the hope of a name. It is a commonplace that the men of the Renaissance were steeped in individualism, which was at once the proudest and deepest product, and the chronic fever, of that great movement. A scholar of insight, the late M. Joseph Texte, who has done much not only to impel to the " comparative study of literature " but to set a needed example of tact in its pursuit, has some pointed words on this subject, in an article on the " Italian influence in France " <sup>1</sup>. The Italians, he shows, taught the French some of that passion for personal glory which was accompanied by a certain relaxation of the moral sense, and which was engendered by the double notion of the rights of the individual, and of art for its own sake. The latter was a concept governing literary effort much as the concept of science for its own sake does today. And this influence is most clearly seen in Ronsard.

The leader of the poetic revival in France was determined to be as sure of glory as the ancient poets whom he followed. French was to be trained and ennobled into a classic tongue by study of the forms and styles, Pindaric or elegiac or epic, which had proved their title to endure. This achieved <sup>2</sup>, it was right to imitate one thing more, the formal boastings of antiquity. As so often at the Renaissance, the tradition or sentiment of the old writers became a kind of dogma. It is repeated so often that the poet begins to revolt from it and to swing back to misgiving. Ronsard in his *Odes* (1550), *Hymns* (1555-6), and *Elegies*, translates the sentiment, and often almost the phrases, of Pindar and Horace.

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1. *Études de littérature européenne*, 1898, pp. 39-44.

2. On the aims of the Pléiade see Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. franç.*, 1895, p. 273, who quotes the verses ascribed to Charles IX :

Tous deux également nous portons des couronnes,  
 Mais, roy, je la reçus ; poète, tu la donnes.

Ne pilier, ne terme Dorique  
 D'histoires vieilles décoré  
 Ne marbre tiré d'Afrique  
 En colonnes élaboré  
 Ne te feront si bien revivre  
 Après avoir passé le port  
 Comme les plumes et le livre  
 Te feront vivre après ta mort <sup>1</sup>.

In another Pindaric, addressed to du Bellay, he gives voice to the same assurance, and the verse has a clang of classic bronze :

mais ny les ans  
 Ny l'audace des vents nuisans  
 Ny la dent des pluies qui mord  
 Ne donne aux vers doctes la mort <sup>2</sup>.

But the writings even of some who wrote in Greek have been lost. Even though Ronsard may win a century or two of renown, a writer in a modern tongue is liable to oblivion. Perhaps it is better after all to spend one's life in trafficking and making money <sup>3</sup>. In another and finer passage Ronsard declines, from the severe Senecan <sup>4</sup> ambition for posthumous fame, upon the applause of contemporaries, which he will, after all, be there to enjoy. His reasoning is not of the sublime kind, but probably it represents the sincere wish of most poets except the very greatest :

ainsi notre esriture  
 Ne nous profite rien : c'est la race future  
 Qui seule en iouyst toute et qui juge à loin

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1. *Odes* i. 8, Epode 3. Cp. *Odes* i. 3. str. 3; i. 16 (with echo of "carent quia vate sacro"); ii. 2 (to Calliope); iii. 4 (to the daughters of Henry II); v. 2 (to Margaret of Savoy). So *Poèmes*, bk. i : to Jean de la Peruse; and *Hymnes* ii. 9 (*de la Mort*). Here Ronsard asserts his intention to quit the exhausted water of Helicon and seek a fresh spring :

quelque chanson nouvelle  
 Dont les accords seront peut-estre si tresdous  
 Que les siecles voudront les redire apres nous :  
 Et suivant mon esprit, à nul des vieux cantiques  
 Larron ie ne devray mes chansons poétiques.

2. *Odes* i. 11, antist. 2.

3. *Odes* v. 17.

4. See p. 27 *ante*, and note.

Les ouvrages d'autrui et s'en donne plaisir,  
 Rendant, comme il luy plaist, nostre peine estimée.  
 Quant à moy, j'aime mieux trente ans de renommée  
 Jouyssant du soleil, que mille ans de renom  
 Lorsque la fosse creuse enfouyra mon nom,  
 Et lorsque notre forme en une autre se change,  
 " L'homme qui ne sent plus, n'a besoin de louange " 1.

We might think we heard La Fontaine speaking here, and a different age, — one of chastened, rather incredulous worldly sense. It is a relief after the monotony of the official Renaissance attitude, to which we return, though the tone is more plaintive, in Ronsard's lieutenant Joachim du Bellay. The *Défense et Illustration* (1549) just preceded Ronsard's first *Odes* (1550), but du Bellay, for our purpose, falls into line behind Ronsard, whose direct sway in England was little. Du Bellay, as we shall presently find, had a vast influence on the early, questing talent of Spenser. Speaking of " The long French poem ", or epic, which is to vie like Petrarch's with those of old, du Bellay writes, in an outburst of assurance, what may serve as a motto for the whole epoch :

Et à la vérité, sans la divine muse d'Homere, le mesme tombeau qui couvroit le corps d'Achille eust aussi accablé son renom. Ce qui advient à tous ceux qui mettent l'assurance de leur immortalité au marbre, au cuivre, aux colosses, aux pyramides, aux laborieux édifices et aux autres choses non moins subjectes aux injures du ciel et du temps, de la flamme et du fer, que de frais excessifs et perpétuelle sollicitude. . . . Or néanmoins quelque infelicité de siècle ou nous soyons, toy, à qui les dieux et les Muses auront esté si favorables, comme j'ay dit, bien que tu sois dépourveu de la faveur des hommes, ne laisse pourtant à entreprendre un œuvre digne de toy, mais non deu à ceux, qui tout ainsi qu'ils ne font choses louables, aussi ne font-ils cas d'estre louez : espere le fruit de ton labeur de l'incorruptible et non envieuse posterité : c'est la gloire, seule eschelle par les degrés de laquelle les mortels d'un pied léger montent au ciel et se font compagnons des dieux. (*Défense de la langue françoise*, ii. 6.)

In his verses *De l'immortalité des Poètes* du Bellay, in his light but firm manner, is sure that his better part does not fear the hand of fate, and that the Muses have promised him a tomb which can face the winds and the centuries. In his *Regrets* he is less sure, and refuses to emulate those who boast that they will live by their writings,

Et se tirent tous vifs dehors des monuments.

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1. *Eleg.* ii.

He is not like Ronsard, who enjoys his glory already in his lifetime <sup>1</sup>. Ronsard need not fear the crowd of other writers of the day, the Maeviuses of France: those of Rome are forgotten; — unhappily indeed, since the humanist would like to have seen the rhymes that served the ancients for a “passe-temps”. The master alone survives:

Tout œuvre qui doit vivre, il a dès sa naissance  
Un dæmon qui le guide vers l'immortalité:

— a guardian “spirit that keeps” it. The great event of du Bellay's life, next to his meeting with Ronsard, was his journey to Rome, which only quickened this mood. In one of the sonnets <sup>2</sup> of his *Antiquités de Rome*, he wishes that he had the harp of Amphion to rebuild the city, or, failing that, a pen like Virgil's to raise the edifice that his hands cannot. In his final sonnet <sup>3</sup> he regains a doubtful hope, and asks his verses if they dare hope to be read by later times. The monuments of which he sings would have lived if anything could live. Nevertheless he continues to chant, lowly as his lyre may be. Much of all this sentiment is found directly passing into his English translator, Spenser.

#### IV

Into our Elizabethan verse these ideas are found streaming somewhat late. They are not prominent in Wyatt, Surrey, Gascoigne, or the miscellanists who come in the wake of those poets. They are hardly explicit in Sidney's verse <sup>4</sup>, or in the *Apology for Poetry*, or the more conventional manuals of poetics in England. The lowering and dreary goddess who presides over the *Mirror for Magistrates* is Fortuna, herself of true classical descent. She is essentially medieval in cast, although she is most in evidence in those chronicle lists of unfortunate great persons inspired by early humanism, that Petrarch and Boccaccio made the mode. Perhaps the earliest English mind on

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1. Sonnet, “Heureux de qui la mort”: Sonnet, “Ne te fasche, Ronsard”.

2. “Que n'ay-je encor la harpe”.

3. “Espérez-vous que la postérité”.

4. *Astr. and Stella* 90.



which the conception of the combat of Fame with Time (who to us is a mere figure on a clock-case) left a clear impress is Spenser's. In the youthful translations published in Van der Noot's *Theatre of Voluptuous Worldlings* (1569), Spenser drew both from Petrarch and from du Bellay, who himself drew from Petrarch<sup>1</sup>. Here, however, Time has his will, and the emblematic pictures of his power, rudely set forth in Van der Noot's woodcuts, sank into the fancy of Spenser and may have given the first shape to his characteristic imagery<sup>2</sup>. When these poems were reprinted in the *Complaints* of 1591, together with the *Ruins of Rome* and the *Visions of the World's Vanity*, the emblematic habit and the sentiment associated with it were rooted in Spenser. *The Ruins of Rome* are translated from "Bellay", and no. 32,

Hope ye, my verses, that posterity  
Of age ensuing shall you ever read?

supplies the transition to that notion of poetical glory, which du Bellay had harped on not always conventionally. The full idea is apparent in *The Ruins of Time*, which is in the same volume. Indeed this is the first and, but for Shakspeare, may be the loftiest expression in our poetry of the peculiar kind of hope we are here chronicling. The contesting powers of Time and Glory had seemed to the huma-

1. These originally spring not from *Trionfi* but the Canzone "Standomi un giorno".

A hasty longe rynnnyng awaye of the tyme  
Is a poyson to fame to cause it to declyne  
Our Tryumphes shall passe our pompes shall decay  
Our lordshyppes our kyngdomes shall all awaye  
And al thyng also that we accompt mortall  
Tyme at the lengthe shall clene deface it al...  
... Al the hye fame where to that men pretende  
Even as the smoke doth vanysshe awaye  
So at the last al thynges do playne decaye.

These unshod lines tumbling over a stony metre are from Henry Parker, Lord Morley's (died 1556) little-remembered version of *Trionfi*, republished by the Roxburghe Club. It is only of interest as being the first and one of the few versifications in English of that influential book.

2. I cannot at all follow the doubts cast by Koeppel, *Englische Studien*, XV, 53, on the genuineness of these early rough versions. The slightness of the changes made by Spenser in his volume of 1591 leaves him open, on Koeppel's view, to a charge of very pointless larceny, and I would even suggest that the four pieces from the *Revelation* in the *Theatre*, which are never reprinted, might be Spenser's too.

nists to hover round the masonry of Rome. Spenser transfers the scene to his "Verulam", — the house of Dudley, that had sheltered him and seemed in danger of perishing out of life and memory. His lines gather up the pessimism which besets the Renaissance itself in the pauses of its exultation and energy like a deep musical wail amidst the jubilation of a marching army :

All is but fained, and with oaker dide,  
That every shower will wash and wipe away :  
All things do change that under heaven abide,  
And after death all friendship doth decay.

And then, retorting on himself, Spenser gives the turn, — call it Stoical or Christian, — which comes so easily to him :

Living, on God and on thyself rely :  
For, when thou diest, all with thee shall die.

Leicester is doubly dead, for no poet, not even Colin Clout or Spenser himself, has yet honoured him. Sidney is also gone ; but he shall live in heaven a blessed spirit, amongst

Heavenly poets and heroes strong,  
So thou both here and there immortal art.

Immortal in both words ! what could shew more clearly that wonderful companionship, without union, of the secular and the doctrinal point of view, which faces us everywhere in the Renaissance ! Spenser, though a sound believer, after thus acquitting himself, turns and speaks with the unreserved pagan bitterness that is always welling up in him that and makes him so interesting :

But such as neither of themselves can sing,  
Nor yet are sung of others for reward,  
Die in obscure oblivion, as the thing  
That never was, ne ever with regard  
Their names shall in the later age be heard,  
But shall in rusty darkness ever lie  
Unless they mentioned be with infamy.

But there is one cure :

For deeds do die, however nobly done,  
And thoughts of men do as themselves decay,  
But wise words, taught in numbers for to run,  
Recorded by the muses, live for ay :

Ne may with storming showers be washed away,  
 Ne bitter-breathing winds with harmful blast,  
 Nor age, nor envy, shall them ever waste <sup>1</sup>.

From the mood of the *Ruins* Spenser passed away: it lost hold on him, when he was busy with the great poetical construction of the *Faerie Queene*, though it recurs there also <sup>2</sup>, and is found in the midst of his solemn invocation to Chaucer when the Squire's Tale is continued <sup>3</sup>. But the contemplation of mere waste, only redeemed here and there by the saving power of verse, becomes itself wasteful. Spenser, in dedicating his poem, regains confidence, and in set terms, as though without lifting his voice, gives immortality to the High Admiral of England, Lord Charles Howard, and to others, with the confidence of an ancient Roman. The tone is that of Tibullus addressing Messala <sup>4</sup>. In his *Amoretti* (27) he promises the like to his bride; the Romans were not so ready with that kind of offer. But the handling of this theme in the sonnet form is best seen in Shakspeare; he has the fullest right to harp on it, he does so most loudly, and he has the widest metaphysical background for his ideas.

It is known from Meres that some of Shakspeare's *Sonnets* were in private circulation before 1598, and it is hard to think that the majority of the twelve or thirteen numbers dealing with poetical fame do not belong to the first five or six years of that decade, when Spenser, Drayton, Daniel, and many more were touching on the same theme in the same metre. Mr. Wyndham's description of this "verse-loving society divided by emulous coteries" <sup>5</sup>, may be somewhat exaggerated but is true in the main. To Drayton and his fellows we return presently; but their and Shakspeare's attitude to fame has this common feature, that the spirit of the humanist is now superseded by that of the lover or friend. In their sonnets, at any rate, they are not pensive scholars, like du Bellay or Petrarch, full of poetical reading and overpowered by the thought of Rome. The

1. Cp. Florio's sonnet "Since Honour from the honoured proceeds".

2. ii. 9. 21; ii. 10. 1-4; iv. 1. 21-22.

3.  
 O cursed Eld! the cankerworm of wits,  
 How may these rimes, so rude as doth appeare,  
 Hope to endure, sith workes of heavenly wits  
 Are quite devoured and brought to nought by little bits?  
 (iv. 2. 33).

4. *Eleg.*, iv. 1.

5. *Poems of Shakspeare*, 1898, p. cv.

ideas of those scholars pass into them and are transformed; they are thinking only of themselves and the person they love. In Ben Jonson <sup>1</sup> the double strain, personal and historical, is present, but the latter is the stronger, as befitted so fully-stored a scholar. But Shakspeare here as elsewhere manages while using an old topic to shake off the burden of the past.

The *Sonnets* are best studied a good deal out of their traditional order, which after all may be largely due to the bookseller Thorpe or the vendor of the manuscript. In 15 to 19 the dominant image is that of Time the Enemy, who has to be conquered, now by the progeny of the youth celebrated, now by the verse of Shakspeare, but best of all by both : the desire of continuance is at the root of both methods, as Plato <sup>2</sup> had intimated. Sonnets 55 (which most resembles the usual historic strain) and 60 continue this vein of thought. Time corrodes things of beauty, and " feeds on the rarities of nature's truth ", but verse arrests his power; 64 and 65, forming one poem, complete this thought. But it has become more intricate in Shakspeare's hands than it had ever been before. In 81 he seems to say that his verse will eternize his friend but not himself; he regards, in 18 and 22, the passing of youth in himself and in his friend (the first being accomplished, the second inevitable) as mystically arrested, in the case of the friend, by the power of poetry. Its business is to countervail not so much the death of the body as the previous death of youth and beauty. Had Shakspeare used Petrarch's form of pageant, he would have presented the Triumph of Time over Beauty, and of Fame, or of Love, over Time. And the whole conception of Time at odds with Verse is woven up with the conception of Beauty and its transcendental relation to Truth, verse being considered as a kind of balsam or preservative for both. The exposition of Mr. Wyndham is penetrating, and establishes a clear connection of the strain of thought we have been tracing with that of Renaissance Platonism. These two streams, of distant origin,

1. *Lines to Shakespeare and Epistle to the Countess of Rutland, Forest*, no. 12.

2. *Laws* 721 B, C. A man should marry between 30 and 35 : ὡς ἔστιν ἡ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος φύσει τινὶ μετεῖληφεν ἀθανασίας, οὗ καὶ πέφυκεν ἐπιθυμίαν ἴσχειν πᾶς πᾶσαν. τὸ γὰρ γενέσθαι κλεινὸν καὶ μὴ ἀνώνυμον κεῖσθαι τοῦ τοιούτου ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία. γένος οὖν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ τι ξυμφυῆς τοῦ παντός χρόνου ὃ διὰ τέλους αὐτῷ ξυνέπεται καὶ συνέφεται, τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἀθάνατον ὄν, τῷ παιδᾶς παίδων καταλειπόμενον ταυτὸν καὶ ἐν ὃν αἰεὶ γενέσει τῆς ἀθανασίας μετεῖληφέναι (" partake of immortality in the unity of generation " Jowett's tr.). τούτου δὲ ἀποστερεῖν ἐκόντα ἑαυτὸν οὐδέποτε ὀσίων.

meet in the *Sonnets*, and Shakspeare once more stands free of philosophical system and of the learned past, while its thoughts are gathered into his verse to "suffer a sea-change".

But our topic is twice treated in the *Sonnets*, at two distinct stages of the story. There is good cause to accept the usual view that 100-126 all refer to a season of reconciliation between the poet and his friend, both of whom have in diverse ways offended. If so, it is natural to read the series addressed to the dark woman, 127-152, before the series 100-126; and this great displacement is only one of the arguments for re-arranging the *Sonnets* much more freely than has hitherto been orthodox. In any case, the contest of Time and Verse is re-opened in 100-126. Time has passed, as many of the numbers say expressly; no. 104 names a space of three years. 107, the obscurest of all, closes on the familiar note, that Love, through Verse, conquers Time : in 122-123 the poet says that he needs no tablets of his friend to make him remember that Time is nothing;

Thy pyramids built up with newer might  
To me are nothing novel, nothing strange; (123).

But the emphasis is soon changed, for it is now no longer Verse, but Love, that is the conqueror over Time; "Love's not Time's Fool" (116). Mr Wyndham has done service once more in shewing how this theme of the "unreality of Time" besets Shakspeare, though it is rather a fitful and hovering fancy than an article of doctrine. The *Sonnets* of Shakspeare are greater poetry, in point of execution, than any others of the time; but they owe this power of style greatly to the mighty pressure behind of philosophic thought, — the thought of a poet, which comes in phrase and image, not in logical sequence. To go back to Shakspeare's contemporaries is to discard these complexities : we find ourselves in a plainer and more traditional order of ideas at once.

Many of Drayton's sonnets are, it has often been noted, oddly Shakspearean in ring. He may of course have seen Shakspeare's poems; but he is not for that a plagiarist or a maker of exercises; he was truly inspired by what he read. Let those who doubt it try to plagiarise thus :

Whilst thus my pen strives to eternize thee,  
Age rules my lines with wrinkles in my face,  
Where, in the map of all my misery,  
Is modelled out the world of my disgrace.

Whilst in despite of tyrannising times  
 Medea-like I make thee young again,  
 Proudly thou scorn'st my world-outwearing rhymes,  
 And murder'st virtue with thy coy disdain.  
 And though in youth my youth untimely perish,  
 To keep thee from oblivion and the grave,  
 Ensuing ages yet my rhymes shall cherish,  
 When I, entomb'd, my better part shall save :  
 And though this earthly body fade and die,  
 My name shall mount upon eternity <sup>1</sup>.

In *Poly-Olbion* <sup>2</sup>, however, Drayton reverts to a less personal strain; he uses the power of verse in the service of England. He has at his back, giving him much of his story, Camden, whose *Britannia* (1586) was an effort to restore to Britain a knowledge of her antiquities. The archaeologists, English as well as Italian, felt they were in a kind of league to outwit Time by preserving the memory, if they could not the existence, of his victims. Such was the spirit that passed into Drayton and nerved him for his long ungrateful task, which has been repaid with a partial success. The passion of the antiquary could hardly be better worded.

In Samuel Daniel, Drayton's companion in poetry, but the master of a more even style, quiet, felicitous, and gray, we feel once more

1. No. 44, ed. 1605.

2. For more on this I may refer to my *Introduction to Michael Drayton*, Spenser Society, 1895, p. 34 foll.

O Time, what earthly thing with thee itself can trust,  
 When thou in thine own course art to thyself unjust?  
 Dost thou contract with Death, and to oblivion give  
 Thy glories, after them yet shamefully dar'st live?  
(Song 21.)

Again :      So, when injurious Time such monuments doth lose,  
 (As, what so great a work by Time that is not wrackt?)  
 We utterly forgo that memorable act :  
 But, when we lay it up within the minds of men,  
 They leave it their next age; that leaves it hers again.  
(Song 10.)

Lastly :      Even in the aged'st face, where beauty once did dwell,  
 And nature in the least but seemed to excel,  
 Time cannot make such waste, but something will appear,  
 To shew some little tract of delicacy there.  
(Song 1.)

what the revival of learning meant to the graver thought and reverie of the time. Daniel is a Stoic, deep in Seneca, whose plays he imitated, and whose ethics he studied. He has made some of the usual points in his sonnets, the first of which came out in 1592. But he has left also the curious *Musophilus* (1599), in which the nature of poetical fame is the matter of a set debate. The disputants are Philocosmus, who chills, though only half-heartedly, the hopes of literary fame, and Musophilus, who defends them, and expands his defence, after the usual way of Renaissance "Apologies" for Poetry, into a vindication of the English tongue and its future and of the whole of learning. This line of argument rested on the plea, which proved too much but was constantly heard in the Renaissance, that the poets from Homer onward are the greatest purveyors of information and edification. It was rarely that the inherent claims of literature as an art were recognised. Dr Saintsbury, in his *History of Literary Criticism* (vol. ii) and in his recently issued *Loci Critici*, has discovered the few exceptions to this rule; they seldom hail from England. In Daniel's poem the true charter of Poetry is not clearly stated, but many noble things are said by the way in her honour. Musophilus assigns her the power to give the poet a second life, "where others have but one".

Short-breath'd Mortality would yet extend  
That span of life so far forth as it may,  
And rob her Fate; seek to beguile her end  
Of some few lingering days of after-stay,  
That all this little All might not descend  
Into the dark, a universal prey.

Philocosmus advises him to quit this ambition, which is 'made vain by the stings and confusions of criticism, and to conform to the taste of the hour. Musophilus spurns these vulgar ideals, derides the quick and fading vanity of earthly honours and palaces, and points to the freshness of Chaucer's name amidst the wreck of those coarser monuments. Philocosmus, in the old strain of Africanus, which Daniel perhaps remembers here, descants on the narrow geographical boundaries of glory, and on the thousands who

never heard the name  
of Sidney, or of Spenser, or their books.

But he is not loth that the "great heroical deserts of brave renowned spirits" should be sung, and seems to limit his protest to elegiac

and esoteric poetry "begot in shades". The defendant however has his stoical answer. Fame to him is not general glory;

If only one allow  
The care my labouring spirits take in this,  
He is to me a Theatre large enow  
And his applause only sufficient is,

— the retort not only of the philosopher but of the true artist in all ages. The rest is a general and stately eulogy on knowledge, Virtue and the English tongue. Daniel's pensive, silvery felicity of style is different from the fuller strain of Shakspeare or Drayton. His poem is a kind of judicial charge to clear the character of Fame.

The Renaissance temper continued in English verse more fitfully during the seventeenth century, often reappearing down to the time of Dryden. The Spenserian and metaphysical poets were much engrossed with Platonism, or with Christian poetry, which offer another source of solace than such a hope of fame as a disciple of Spenser like William Browne promises himself<sup>1</sup>. The sentiment is most clearly seen in poets who go back to the purer classic inspiration. Drummond's sonnet to Fame is exceptional and artificial, and his general note is devout. Herrick, in *His Poetry his Pillar*, makes Horace or Jonson his model for a phrasing as light and durable as Gautier's<sup>2</sup>. Cowley, in his *Motto* to his *Miscellanies*, is purely traditional and rings rather hollow. Milton in his *Lines to Shakspeare* is an Elizabethan, and in his allusion to the House of Fame is half Chaucerian and half classical<sup>3</sup>. In *Lycidas* the spur of fame contends with the heavenly vision as an incentive to the poet, but the two ideas are blended in the faith that fame is awarded by divine justice

And perfect witness of all-judging Jove.

1. Ode, "Awake, fair Muse".

2. *Hesperides*, 211. Cp. "sculpte, lime, cisèle".

3. In *Quintum Novembris (anno at. xvii.)*

Hic turris posita est Titanidos ardua Famae  
aerea, lata, sonans... (172-3.)

... veraque mendax

nunc minuit, modo confictis sermonibus augeat.

Sed tamen a nostro meruisti carmine laudes,

Fama, bonum quo non aliud veracius ullum,

nobis digna cani. (192-6.)



In his sonnet to "captain or colonel", Milton is again a humanist and a Greek; but generally, he is too much a puritan in these matters to be a thoroughgoing humanist. Besides, the deeper and superber strain of Anglican or philosophic eloquence had laid more weight on the vanity than on the permanence of glory, and the peroration to the *Hydriotaphia* (1658) may almost be read as the epitaph in England of the earlier sentiment. Browne, however, in a sense also echoes it, for his pensive psalm is on the futility of visible monuments rather than on that of poetical honours. But his plea avails against these also <sup>1</sup>, and is part of that whole strain of sombre revulsion against the buoyant hopes of the English Renaissance, which we find in the masters of prose from Raleigh to Barrow.

With the age of Dryden and Louis XIV the desire of literary fame, if it did not die, ceased to be modish, and the ideals of classicism left little room for it. It was something unmeasured, and became a little absurd. The splendid boasts that appear even in the rigid Malherbe <sup>2</sup>, and in Corneille, are not heard in La Fontaine or Molière. And the last sincere echoes are perhaps heard in Dryden's elegy upon Oldham.

It would open a fresh and too large a chapter to intimate the deeper causes of decay, during the century of reason and rhymed rhetoric, that undermined the sentiment of fame. A later chapter still would examine both in what shape it revived with Romance and with modern speculation, and the new keen currents of feeling on the subject, which are still in conflict. The renewed value given to artistic form for its own sake, both by aesthetic critics and by the theorists of pessimism, is important. We have come back by another path to the Renaissance conception that a work of art alone of all

1. Time hath spared the epitaph of Adrian's horse, confounded that of himself. In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations, and Thersites is like to live as long as Agamemnon, without the favour of the everlasting register. Who knows whether the best of men be known, or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot, than any that stand remembered in the known account of time?

2.       Tous vous savent louer, mais non également;  
           Les ouvrages communs vivent quelques années;  
           Ce que Malherbe écrit dure éternellement.

Malherbe, *Au roy*, no. 93 : *Grands Ecr. de France*, p. 262.

Cp. P. Corneille. *Gr. Ecr.*, no. 58 (à Mlle du Parc).

See *Le contact en littérature*, in this number, for the philosophy of the circulation of ideas; to its author are due these two references.

things survives in identical form, and that this survival is therefore worth ensuring as the strictest kind of immortality. Such a feeling is not quite the same as the cruder and older challenges to Time, but it is not essentially different. Thus the idea of literary glory, after working out the fullest expression of which it was capable in its passage from nation to nation, and provoking many a contradiction and counter plea, fell nearly silent for awhile, to emerge again with a change of accent upon later modern times.

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## THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR SYMONDS D'EWES

THE practice of leaving memoirs to instruct descendants immediate and remote, with an eye more or less also to posterity in general, begins to become frequent in the early part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and receives no more interesting illustration than in this book of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. His autobiography, largely constructed from his own diaries, is one of singular wealth of detail and self-revelation. It acquaints us intimately with the writer from his very cradle; nay, pries almost in Shandean fashion into antecedent factors, nothing concerning him being dismissed as idle: which is entirely in character with his qualities as a sincere religionist of the Puritan type, profoundly convinced of the care of Providence in every incident of his life, and as a most zealous and enthusiastic antiquary. It shows him to have been a sincere lover of his country and friends, and one who was — save in a few instances where his puritan convictions were too strong for him — a remarkably impartial observer of his opposites. John Nichols published extracts from it in 1783, but the whole did not appear till edited by J. O. Halliwell in 1845.

D'Ewes was born in 1602 at Coxden in the parish of Chardstock, in Dorsetshire, the seat of his maternal grandfather, Richard Symonds, by whom he was brought up, and whose appearance and character he thus describes in one of those passages of simple eloquence which feeling and entire knowledge often dictate in inartistic works of this nature: "He was a man of personage proper, inclined to tallness, in his youth valiant and active, towards his latter age full and corpulent, of a full face and clear complexion, with an erected forehead, and a large grey eye bright and quick. Sound and sure he was of his word, true and faithful to his friends, somewhat choleric, yet apt to forgive, cheerful in his journeys or at his meals, of a sound and deep

judgment, with a strong memory, both which were much beautified with his well composed language, and graceful delivery. He was somewhat prodigally inclined in his youth, and generously thrifty in his age, giving good example to his greatest neighbours by his constant hospitality. Earnest he was, and sincere in the rightful cause of his client, pitiful in the relief of the distressed, and merciful to the poor. The mis-spent time of his youth was, in a great measure, recompensed by the laborious studies and practice of his maturer years ; having little academical learning, but great knowledge in the municipal laws of the realm. In his last conflict, though patiently yielding to death, yet not so blessedly resolved as to condemn it, because his sickness was sudden, and his recovery beyond his hope ; leaving behind him sorrowful friends, kindred, and acquaintance ; for whose comfort notwithstanding he left amongst them his good name, as a perpetual and lasting memory for them to think upon ; and his good example as a reluctant mirror and pattern for them to view and imitate for ever. ”

His father was also a man of property, Paul D'Ewes of Milding, Suffolk, and his extraction originally Dutch. He esteemed “ the search of records and the exotic monuments of antiquity ”, as he tells us, “ the most ravishing and satisfying part of human knowledge ” ; and it is no wonder then, that pages and pages of his life are devoted to the family trees of his wife and her relations, and of his brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law and *their* relations ; and that among these, there are also a considerable number dealing with his own descent from the Lords of Kessel in Guelderland, through his great grand-father Adrian Des Ewes, who settled in England in Henry the Eighth's time. He was an eager collector of old records, and gave all his spare time to studying and copying the like, including journals of long past parliaments ; and it is most unfortunate that the work of 20 or 30 years, his history of Britain, has been lost. In this he proposed to himself the reformation of all previous “ Chronicles and Histories of this kind yet extant ”, by dint of recourse to original sources, and it is possible that much of his material may have been derived from records which have since perished. His journals of Queen Elizabeth's parliaments remain, with several lesser works.

D' Ewes' natural bias to religion saved him from the vice and folly which he found rampant at Cambridge, and caused him to give hours to study, which he feared might otherwise have hit upon no innocent recreation : afterwards he passed to the Middle Temple, and acquitted himself honourably as a law student, intending, as he says,

to qualify for high preferment, till he saw, in his own words : " the Church of God and the Gospel to be almost everywhere ruined abroad, or to be in great peril and danger, and daily feared that things would grow worse at home ". " Then, " he continues, " I laid by all those lofty and aspiring hopes ; and considering that advice of Jeremiah to Baruch, that these were not times for God's children to seek great things in, I resolved to moderate my desires, and to prepare my way to a better life with the greater security of mind and reposedness of spirit, by avoiding those two dangerous rocks of avarice and ambition ".

He did not, however, shirk the duties of a citizen, but served as sheriff for his county, and, as a member of Parliament, did his duty according to his conscience, both to prince and country. Ultimately, his strong religious views led him to sacrifice the loyalty which was a part of his reverential nature, and he sided with the Parliament against the king who had made him a baronet in 1641 ; but he was always a moderate, a sincere patriot, and ultimately lost his seat as one of those suspected of a leaning towards the institution of royalty.

From what I have said of D'Ewes' character, the historical value of his memoirs will be apparent. They are, in fact, closely interwoven with detail of current events, not in England only but on the continent : but it is more within the scope of a short essay to example what is quaint and personal. His notices of James I. partake of both interests, and are valuable as the opinion of a man whose conduct subsequently showed him to be a sharp critic of his prince ; and particularly as representative of the best contemporary judgment of James, long before he became a property for journalistic wits to play upon ; for now, as Gifford — who had a genius for apt quotation — said : " Men of all sorts take a pride to gird at him ". The first of the following passages describes his going in state, " with a rich crown upon his head, and most royal caparisons, " but not uninteruptedly congruous manners, to open parliament in 1621 ; the second follows upon his death : —

" In the king's short progress from Whitehall to Westminster, these passages following were accounted somewhat remarkable : First, that he spake often and lovingly to the people, standing thick and threefold on all sides to behold him, " God bless ye! God bless ye! " contrary to his former hasty and passionate custom, which often in his sudden distemper would bid a p — or a plague on such as flocked to see him. Secondly : that though the windows were filled with many great ladies as he rode along, yet

that he spake to no one of them but to the Marquis of Buckingham's mother and wife, who was the sole daughter and heiress of the Earl of Rutland. Thirdly : that he spake particularly and bowed to the Count of Gondomar the Spanish Ambassador. And fourthly : that looking up to one window as he passed, full of gentlewomen or ladies, all in yellow bands, he cried out aloud, " A p-take ye! are ye there?" at which being much ashamed, they all withdrew themselves suddenly from the window. " After describing James's promises, made in " a pithy and elegant speech ", of removing monopolies, aiding the King of Bohemia, etc. D'Ewes continues. " I doubt not, howsoever these blessed promises took not a due and proportionable effect, according as the loyal subject did hope; yet did King James (a prince whose piety, learning, and gracious government after ages may miss and wish for) really at this time intend the performance of them ".

Similarly, he writes of the 7<sup>th</sup> May 1625 : " It did not a little amaze me to see all men generally slight and disregard the loss of so mild and gentle a Prince, which made me even then to fear that the ensuing times might yet render his loss more sensible, and his memory more dear unto posterity. For though it cannot be denied but that he had his vices and deviations, and that the true Church of God was well near ruined in Germany, whilst he sat still and looked on; yet, if we consider his virtues and learning on the other hand, his care to maintain the doctrine of the Church of England pure and sound, his opposition against James Arminius, Conradus Vorstius, and other blasphemous Anabaptists, and his augmenting the liberties of the English rather than oppressing them by any unlimited or illegal taxes and corrosions, we cannot but acknowledge that his death deserved more sorrow and condolence from his subjects than it found. "

Of Buckingham, Dr Ewes speaks without acrimony, though evidently regarding him with strong disapprobation, both as a politician and a man. He even declares it would have been " a happy moderation " in the House of Commons in 1625, if... they had winked at the Duke's errors and fallen upon the consideration of many particulars in Church and Commonwealth, which more needed their help and assistance ". He makes his personality, brilliant but somewhat graceless, flash before us for a moment, in these words: " For his private practice, the Duke's devotion was very small, so as at the very Sacrament of Baptism, where he was a witness with some comely and beautiful women, he hath been observed to wink and

smile on them, when the minister came to that passage to demand if they forsook the carnal desires of the flesh, so as they would not follow, nor be led by them! ”

D'Ewes gives a minute account of his various marriage treaties, including that which was at last successful. He was heir to his deceased grandfather, but the property was under his father's control, and the latter, a rather choleric old gentleman, kept his son indifferently supplied. He had therefore two objects in view: to marry, and so get a proper settlement, and to get his father married to what he calls, some “ ancient ” and discreet widow. I regret to say that he applies this epithet to a lady of 45. His last anxiety was because D'Ewes Senior had a hankering after a young lady by preference, and his son was very much afraid that this might ultimately lead to a serious reduction of his paternal inheritance. The unfortunate thing was that while Paul D'Ewes was ready enough to enter into treaties on behalf of his son or himself, he invariably backed out when matters reached a serious stage. Ultimately, however, he was outmanœuvred: the son obtained a lovely and wealthy young bride of 14, and the father “ an ancient widow ” of 45, in every way approved of by the former. *He* is amazingly complacent over God's providence (as he calls it) in having frustrated a previous treaty with a certain Jemina Waldegrave, whose loss, on interested rather than amatory grounds, he had much regretted at the time: “ The gentlewoman, ” he says, “ after the decease of her father, was at last married to John Crew, Esq. son and heir of Sir Thomas Crew, Knt, for whom, to say truly, she was a much fitter match than for myself, who, being younger than herself, (although I knew it not at first,) it would doubtless in process of time have bred much nauseating and inconvenience. Yet I cannot deny that in respect of her fair extraction, comeliness, and good education; of my own wants, loss of time, and discontent; of my fears of my father's match with a young widow with whom he was now in treaty, and to get an estate settled upon me, I did omit no care, pains or endeavour to have accomplished this match, which God of his infinite goodness did frustrate, not only for my temporal, but for my spiritual good. For he afterwards provided for me not only a much younger gentlewoman, but more nobly extracted, and the heir of her family ”.

D'Ewes' bride, Anne Clopton, lived with him in entire happiness. Her pedigree alone would have made him a fond husband, but she seems to have had every good quality. Their only sorrow was the mortality of

their children : they lost 4 sons in infancy, 2 daughters only surviving, and D'Ewes' ultimate heir was the child of a second marriage. His first wife died of smallpox soon after he had left her side for London, in ignorance of the extent of her danger. His letters on the event are intensely pathetic. The " ancient widow " had been fatal to him after all, long after his father's death, for it was her selfishness, apparently, that cost him his wife. His letter to her, on the event, to which no answer is extant, is as follows :

" Alas, Madame !

I never wrote with a moore sadd or a moore unwilling heart to you. My calamitie hath laied me so low, as should you see mee, you would scarce knowe my mourning countenance. I have neede to gett newe friends not to lose olde. I am in that woefull condition, as I should eschew the having any difference with the poorest man or woman in Ixworth, much lesse with you. I have deferred it thus long also, that I might not add one rash, unadvised, or passionate worde of mine owne. But oh mee, miserable man ! that must relate to you as sadd newes, being the words of that dying Saint, as I conceive you ever heard, by which you may see how just cause I have not only to lament her losse, but to feare shee was even cast away.

And her sweete nature and rare goodness was such, as neither living nor dying, she complained against any without just cause.

On that fatall day, July 15, last past, being Thursday, in the morning she lay in bedd, being very ill, and in soe extreame a sweate as it turned all she had on into a muck wett. But when she had lien till tenne, and found not remorse or pittie, nor offer for her to stay, shee resolved to adventure herselfe by departing.

Her maide beseeching her to stay, she answered, I must goe what soever hurt comes of it, seeing nobodie offers mee to stay. And a little before her taking coach, with much lamentation in Ixworth Hall, Oh ! said shee, weere I at Busbridge, my sister Eliott would lose her life before shee would parte with mee thus. For after she had put on a dry shiftning, and gotten upp, she never gott out of her sweate till her fatall (oh ever fatal to me !) departure. Oh ! my deare, saied shee to mee, I was all of a sweate when I came from Ixworth, and yet my lady Denton never offered mee to stay. Shee found noe pittie at her parting from Ixworth, but from her poor child Cecilia : —

In her sicknesse at Stowe, Oh, said she, that I had fallen sicke at London ! And oh, my gracious God, that such had been Thy will, for then in all humane reason and likelihood, I had been as happie in



the enjoyment of a most pious and most affectionate wife, as I am now miserable in her abortive losse.

But I knowe as shee forgave all the worlde when shee died, soe her pure death following her exemplarie and holy life, hath not only bredd admiration in mee and many others, but assurance alsoe that she now shines in eternall glorie, whilst heere I still continue in this miserable worlde, your Ladyshipp's most desolate sonne,

Simonds d'Ewes.

Wexton, Sept. 2, 1641. "

It appears from this and other letters that the Lady Denton, his father's widow, had allowed her connection to leave her house and undertake a journey in the beginning of a dangerous sickness; and that the latter's death after delusive promise of recovery, was attributed by medical authorities to this cause. The autobiography itself ceases some years previous, pathetically closing thus: "and as I ended the third book of my life with the relation of the death of my father, so I will shut up this with the decease of my sweet and only son": but correspondence up to 1650, the year of Sir Symonds' own death, is extant and has been partly published. Of the former I have given sufficient to show the interest, but fall far short of fitly representing its variety, and that fulness and pleasant digression into by-narratives, which it owes to its origin in diaries, and to the curiosity and microscopic observation of its author.

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## CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM OF LAMB'S

### "DRAMATIC SPECIMENS"

**M**<sup>R.</sup> Swinburne once remarked that the year 1808 was made "nobly memorable by the appearance of the matchless and priceless volume of specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakespeare".

In the fulness of honour which later times have accorded to this book and to its compiler, the scant welcome which it received on its first appearance has been almost lost sight of. Yet the fact remains. The journals of the day either passed it by with significant silence, or (with one notable exception) evinced a pitiful incompetence to recognize its peculiar merits. Even during the lifetime of Lamb we find it alluded to as a forgotten, and not altogether undeservedly forgotten, venture. Whether or no its reception was a disappointment to Lamb himself we have I think no definite record. To the profits that Longman's were to divide with him he never refers. The fact that another firm of publishers was responsible for the second edition seems to suggest the unwillingness of Longman's to run any further risk. Who shall say that a thought of his own unsaleable work was not leaking in Lamb's mind when he extended to Coleridge a half-playful, half-earnest, word of consolation on the failure of his "Remorse." "Methinks", he wrote, "it makes for the benefit of sound literature that the best books do not always go off best." It was presumedly to the pen of Coleridge that he was indebted for the one criticism worthy of the work written immediately upon the publication of the specimens. This appeared in the "Annual Review" of 1808, and, though the article is unsigned, there can be little doubt as to the hand that wrote it. This review, which apparently finds no place in his collected works, is of the highest interest, both for the individual judgment of Coleridge on certain

dramatists to whom he does not elsewhere refer, and for his estimate of Lamb's judgment of them. With the latter only we are now concerned. "No editor," he writes, "had ever a mind more congenial to his office than Mr. Lamb possesses. There are no beauties which escape him, he understands them as well as feels them, but sometimes he enters so fully into the spirit of his author that the feeling seems to overpower his judgment... The 'Duchess of Malfi' is one of those plays which Mr. Lamb admires most warmly, yet surely it contains nothing half so fine as the praise which he has misbestowed upon it... Yet our dramatic writers have never been commented on with such kindred power; the remarks are even more original than the text. We have seen no such critic." With Coleridge all adequate criticism of the "Specimens" begins and ends. It is a descent indeed to the "Monthly Review," with its impertinent patronage of genius, and its disparagement of the priceless notes as unnecessary and dispensable appendages.

"While we renew one acknowledgments to the editor of this interesting work," the writer remarks, "we cannot dispense with the duty of pointing out some of the defects... The services that may be rendered to English readers by re-opening the ancient sources of dramatic pleasure will be more than counterbalanced, if Mr. Lamb can persuade them to neglect those later productions which have been sanctioned by the long admiration and sympathy of judges and spectators. Let not young men be told that the serious dramatic compositions of Otway, Southerne and Rowe, and even of Dryden, Young, and Lee have no merit to repay the labour of perusal, and let it not be forgotten, for the credit of the present age, that it has given birth to *De Montfort*, *Basil and Ethwald*, the *Honeymoon* and the *Curfew*." But the gem of the whole review is this: "Perhaps it was right to abstain from inserting biographical notices; yet many readers of these specimens, who may not have access to Dodsley's collection of Old Plays, nor to the 'Biographica Dramatica', might have been pleased to know some chronological particulars at least, both of these performances, and of their composers. To them, mere transcription, or judicious abbreviation, would have been as welcome as critical notes, a species of commentary with which all persons are peculiarly ready to dispense. The notes before us, indeed, have nothing very remarkable, except the style, which is formally abrupt and elaborately quaint." Such a judgment, as Talfourd well remarks, is incredible without reference to the article itself. No wonder that Lamb should exclaim on reading it, "O Coleridge, do kill those reviews,

or they will kill us ; kill all we like. " But worse was yet to come in the way of personal abuse, when the editor of the " Quarterly ", in his review of Weber's *Ford*, in 1811, stooped so low as to write, " we have a more serious charge to bring against Weber than the omission of points of the misapprehension of words. He has polluted his pages with the blasphemies of a *poor maniac*, who, it seems, once published some detached scenes of ' The Broken Heart. ' For this unfortunate creature every feeling mind will find an apology in his calamitous situation ; but for Mr. Weber ' etc. " It is true, that when Southey wrote to the publishers lamenting this unfortunate expression, he received a reply from Gifford, so full of genuine sorrow and so apparently sincere in its expression of ignorance of Lamb's family affliction, that nothing more could be asked. Mr. Fitzgerald, the editor of *Talfourd*, presumed that the offending passage was struck out, as he had looked for it without success, but it still darkens the pages of the number which I have consulted.

The appearance of the " Works " of Lamb, in 1818, gave further occasion to the pens of reviewers to pass sentence upon him. By this time the " Monthly Review " had discovered that he was a sort of ex-member of the Lake School, " of that little knot of writers who, by means of certain peculiarities of style, have contrived to fidget themselves into a moderate degree of notoriety. At the bottom of all their eccentricity, the writer continues, " lies an extravagant, almost a fanatical, admiration of Shakespeare and of the play writers about his period ; " and forthwith Shakespeare and his fellows are compromised in his eyes by this questionable association. " Is our language, is our poetry altogether to be considered as having attained its purest polish and most accomplished vigour in the days of Elizabeth and James ? In a word, are we, with some half-witted and half-informed admirers of antiquity, to draw so broad a line of superiority for the Tudor and the Stuart dynasty of genius, when compared to that fresh literary race who have ruled us since the Revolution, that in the blaze of Shakespeare and his satellites every subsequent poet is to be buried and lost ; and we of the nineteenth century are to be sent back to the first improvers of our rude native tongue for models of style and for subjects of imitation.... ? We were pleased in general with Mr. Lamb's specimens from the early writers, with some limitations of opinion, and we shall not here enter into an examination of his over-charged estimate of the merits of those writers. "

At the hands of " Blackwood " Lamb fared little better. Though

personally they expressed a friendly regard for him, they were sorry to observe among his admirers persons whose favourable opinion would be apt to prejudice the public against him. They wished that the Editor of the "Examiner" and Mr. Hazlitt had not affected to love and admire that which they could not at all understand. As for the "Dramatic Specimens," the writer considered that Mr. Lamb's desire to say strong and striking things and to represent the objects of his enthusiasm as deserving even of his idolatry, had caused him to push his panegyrics on the ancient English dramatists beyond all reasonable bounds.

The "British Critic" was not ashamed to confess that Mr. Lamb's works, up to this time, were entirely unknown to it. "We have often heard of Mr. Lamb," the reviewer begins, "though we confess we scarcely recollect to have had hitherto the fortune of falling in with any of his productions; and should even, notwithstanding our supposed official familiarity with the literature of the day, have felt a little embarrassed if required to point out where they were to be found. It may be doubted whether, in thus gratifying our curiosity, 'the gentlemen who have taken the trouble of collecting them' have best consulted the interests of their friend's reputation."

The "Characters of the dramatic writers contemporary with Shakespeare" the writer is condescending enough to regard as "very good, though written in the tone of exaggerated praise which antiquarians in poetry are apt to indulge in."

The publication of a volume of selections from Massinger in the "Family Library," in 1830, incited reviewers to comment afresh on bygone attempts to introduce the old dramatists to public notice.

The "Edinburgh Literary Gazette" declared that all previous attempts to revive a general interest in the old drama, not excluding Lamb's "Specimens," had failed to gain an audience. And the "Monthly Review" bears out this assertion of the comparative failure of Lamb's book in the following terms:—"We do not know what the fate was of an octavo volume of excerpts from the old dramatists, published some years ago, we believe, under his auspices; but it would seem that its reception was not very encouraging, since the remainder of the materials which Mr. Lamb had in his possession were transferred by him to other hands. We do not wonder at the comparative failure which, we have no doubt, this volume experienced; for it was scarcely a whit more exempt from the objections which existed to the indiscriminate circulation of the originals them-

selves. Mr. Lamb, we really believe, had too pure a mind to comprehend the mischievous, or offensive, character of many passages which he retained.....But why have we had no better attempts made etc., etc., etc.?"

With regard to sentiments of this kind, and which are by no means exhausted by the citations given, silence is the only possible comment. Upon what authority the writer of the review declares that Lamb's surplus materials were transferred to other hands, I do not know. Possibly the appearance of fresh specimens in Hone's "Table Book," in 1827, led him astray. With a partial transcription of Lamb's letter to Mr. Hone with reference to these same specimens, and which contains some allusions to his former publication, I close. I take it that the concluding remarks were meant as a sort of answer on Lamb's part to the complaints of the reviewers that he was indifferent to matters of detail.

"Jan. 27 : 1827.

" Dear Sir. — It is not unknown to you, that about sixteen years since I published ' Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakespeare. ' For the scarcer plays I had recourse to the collection bequeathed to the British Museum by Mr. Garrick. But my time was but short; and my subsequent leisure has discovered in it a treasure rich and exhaustless beyond what I then imagined..... If the occasional extracts which I have been tempted to bring away may find an appropriate place in your "Table Book," some of them are weekly at your service. By those who remember the " Specimens " these must be considered as mere after-gleanings, supplementary to that work, only comprising a longer period. You must be content with sometimes a scene, sometimes a song, a speech, a passage, or a poetical image as they happen to strike me. I read without order of time; I am a poor hand at dates; and for any biography of the dramatists, I must refer to writers who are more skilful in such matters. My business is with their poetry only. Your well-wisher,

C. Lamb. "

Although Canon Ainger is of opinion that this letter was written merely as an official introduction to the new specimens, one cannot but feel conscious of the writer's underlying sense of disappointment at the fortunes of the former book. Even allowing for Lamb's characteristic modesty, it was surely a reflection upon the age that it was possible for him to refer during his lifetime to the " Specimens " of 1808 as a probably forgotten book.

# NOTES

ON THE

## SOUTH LANCASHIRE PLACE-NAMES

### IN DOMESDAY BOOK

**I**N the following pages D. B. refers to Domesday Book. R. S., to the 39<sup>th</sup> volume of the Record Society, which contains a translation by Mr. W. Farrer of the early Pedes Finium. L. P. R., to the Lancashire Pipe Rolls, also edited by Mr. Farrer. O. E. is Old English, O. N. Old Norse.

The notes on many of the D. B. words are merely conjectural and only represent such results as on the balance of considerations seem probable. On others of the words nothing more can be said than has already been said by writers on the subject; and they have only been included that the list of D. B. names might be complete.

The Figures after the names refer to the paragraphs of the following pages.

Achetun 1, Acrer 18, Alretune 1, Bartune 1, Blacheburne 19, Boltelai 4, Chenulveslei 4, Cherchebi 6, Chirchedele 5, Cildeuuelle 14, Crosebi 6, Daltone 1, Derbei 6, Einulvesdel 5, Erengemeles 7, Esmedune 10, Fornebei 6, Herleshala 8, Heleshale 8, Hitune 1, Hinne 12, Hiredun 1, Hirletun 1, Hoiland 3, Holand 3, Hunnicot 20, Latune 2, Lailand 3, Leiate 17, Liderlant 3, Literland 3, Magele 8, Mele 7, Melinge 16, Merretun 1, Mamecestre 23, Neweton 1, Neutone 1, Otringemele 7, Otegrimele 7, Peniltune 1, Peneuerdant 25, Rabil 6, Radeclive 22, Recedham 24, Salford 21, Schelmeresdele 5, Sextone 1, Stochestede 9, Spec 13, Torboc 11, Torentun 1, Uvetone 1, Ulventune 1, Wallei 4, Waletone 1, Waletune 1, Walintune 1, Wauretreu 15, Wibaldeslei 4.

I. The termination *tun, ton, tune, tone*. O. E. *tun*, an enclosure.

The two place-name suffixes which are the most characteristic of England are *ham* and *ton*. Of the former there is not a single instance in the D. B. names of South Lancashire unless Peneuerdant be one; the latter is the most frequent termination of all. Jellinghaus (see *Anglia*, vol. XX, p. 324) is of opinion that wherever it occurs on the Continent, it is indicative of the presence of Saxon colonies. In the D. B. names of South Lancashire it appears in *Achetun*, *Hitune*, *Sextone*, *Waletone*, *Torentun*, *Ulventune*, *Alretune*, *Uvetone*, *Daltone*, *Hirletun*, *Merretun*, *Bartune*, *Hiretun*, *Neweton*, *Walintune*, *Waletone*, *Penilltune*, and perhaps *Latune*.

**ACHETUN.** This name occurs twice in the survey of Derbei. Assuming the same place to be meant on both occasions, which however is contested (R. S. p. 64 n.), the modern Aughton, near Ormskirk, is meant. In entries of the year 1282 the word is spelt Acton, and Aghton (R.S. pp. 158, 159). The *gh* is now pronounced locally as *f*. The first part of the word is the O. E. *āc*, an oak.

**HITUNE.** As this word is joined with Torboc in the D. B. it doubtless represents Huyton. To judge from later spellings than the D. B. *u* is a necessary letter. In the Foundation Charter of Burscough Priory c. 1190 (L. P. R., p. 350) it appears as Huton. In the Exchequer Lay subsidy of 1332, R. S. vol. 31, the modern spelling already appears. I suppose the first part of the word to be O. E. *hwīt*, white, the origin of wheat, so that its formation corresponds with that of Barton. There is a Wheathill Farm, and a Wheathill House in Huyton Parish.

**SEXTONE.** There is no further trace of the *x* (= *ks*) in this word, except perhaps in the proper name Rauff Sekerston who was Mayor of Liverpool in 1560. The spelling with *f* is the common one of the middle ages, Sefton, see R. S., v. 41, p. 80, A.D. 1324 and R. S., v. 31, p. 21 of the Exchequer Lay subsidy A. D. 1332. The modern spelling Sephton appears in the reign of Elizabeth, and is probably due to the Clergy, who were influenced by the Biblical *ph* in such words as Ephphatha.

The first part of the word is the O. E. *Secg*, *Secges*, Sedge. It is interesting that in the names of two adjacent parishes, Aughton, Sefton, the *f* sound should have displaced the guttural. In the latter case the change was probably helped by Scandinavian settlers, who knew the Sedge as *sef*, which is found in one or two medieval Danish place-names as *Siv*.

**WALETONE** appears as Walton in 1246 (R. S., p. 101). The distinguishing words 'on-the-hill' now borne by Walton are compara-



ratively modern. WALETUNE in Blackburn Hundred was early distinguished as Walton in La Dale (R. S., p. 203. A.D. 1304). The first syllable of the word implies that the farm or village was surrounded by more than an ordinary fence. The O.E. *weall* is a loan-word from the Roman *vallum*.

TORNTUN appears as Thornteton in A. D. 1246 and Thornton in A. D. 1249 (R. S., pp. 104, 109). The Norman scribes of the D. B. frequently wrote *t* for *th*, especially at the beginning of a word. O. E. *thorn*, is the root.

ULVENTUNE, UVETONE appear to be two spellings of the same word, the modern Little Woolton, Much Woolton. Little Wolveton is found of the date A. D. 1292 in R. S., p. 166, and suggests Wolf as the name of the original possessor.

ALRETUNE, now Allerton. Alreton in A. D. 1241 (R. S., p. 91). The O. E. name of the Alder, which gives name to the place is *aler*. A local pronunciation is *Ollerton*, and dialect word for the tree, *owler*.

DALTONE. The first part of the word is doubtless the word Dale, O. N. *dalr*, which is found more frequently as the suffix, than as the qualifying word in place-names. There is an early Danish place-name Dalby.

HIRLETUN. A later spelling is Hurletun (R. S., v. 31, p. 5, of the Subsidy Roll, A. D. 1332). The modern (see Ordnance Maps) is Horulton or Harleton. The first part is probably a proper name, which appears also in Hurlingham, and the Cheshire Hurleston. Hyrel is a man's name in R. S., p. 183, date A. D. 1298.

MERRETUN. Mention is made (R. S., p. 61. A. D. 1235), of an Everard de Marton who held lands in Marton; but the word seems to have disappeared as the name of a village from the south side of the Ribble though not from the north side. The word exists however in Martin Hall, Martin Lane, Martin Meer. The first part is the O. E. *mere*, a lake.

BARTUNE. A common place name, meaning a threshing-floor or barn. O. E. *beretun*, *bere* barley. See Huyton.

HIRETUN, probably a mis-spelling for Hirletun; the two names coupled with it in the D. B. are also mentioned elsewhere in the survey, Otringemele and Herleshale, and are differently spelt.

NEWETON, NEUTONE, a common English place-name, often occurring in Domesday Book and subject to great varieties of spelling.

WALINTUNE, the modern Warrington. From the existence of a Roman road north of the town, and the discovery of Roman rem-

ains south, Warrington has been supposed to be a Roman station, founded to guard the most western ford over the Mersey. Accordingly a Roman *Veratinum* has been placed at the spot ; see the late Rev<sup>d</sup>. G. Butler's *Classical Atlas*, and Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. iii, p. 650; there is however little, if any, historical evidence of such a word.

The D. B. spelling has the letter *l* where the modern has *r*. On other occasions the Norman scribes have put *l* for *r*, and conversely. Early forms of the word are Werineton (L. P. R., p. 422, A. D. 1228). Werington (R. S., p. 100, A. D. 1246), Weryngton (R. S., p. 180, A. D. 1296). These leave the question unresolved whether the *g* is part of the original word or not. If the *g* is intrusive, the word may be connected with the personal name Warin. D. B. mentions a Warinus as a landowner in the Hundred at the time of the Survey. If *g* really belongs to the word, I am inclined to see in it the O. E. *Wering*, a weir or dam.

PENILTUNE. Present form is Pendleton; the intrusive *d* is comparatively modern, unless the solitary case in L. P. R., p. 115 A. D. 1200 should be found trustworthy. The first part of the word is Cymric and means 'head' or 'headstead'.

2. LATUNE. The Norman scribe seems here to have written *t* for *th*, for very early forms of the word are Lathum (R. S., p. 16. A. D. 1202) and Lathom (p. 44. A. D. 1224). The O. E. *hlæd* means a pile or mound, the O. N. *hlath*, a barn; and Chaucer uses *lathe* for barn in his poem "The House of Fame." Thus Lathum will mean "at the piles or barns". A famous Earls' seat in Norway was named Hlathir. But if the *t* is not a peculiarity of the scribe, the word suggests Latton (as in Essex). See paragraph 27.

3. The termination *Land*. O. E. *land* O. N. *land*. This word occurs in *Liderlant*, *Literland*, *Hoiland*, *Holand*, *Lailand*.

LIDERLANT, LITERLAND. Notwithstanding peculiarities of writing these two words can only represent the modern Litherland which appears in A. D. 1202 as Litherlande (R. S., p. 11) and in A. D. 1256, as Litherlond (p. 119). The first part of the word is the O. E. and O. N. *hlith*, a slope, or hill-side. As the O. E. genitive of the word is *hlithes*, and the O. N. *hlithar*, the place-name is probably Scandinavian rather than English. Compare the name of Gunnar's famous home *Hlitharendi* in the south of Iceland, mentioned in Njals Saga.

HOILAND, HOLAND. Early forms are Hollande (R. S., p. 14. A. D. 1202), and Holand (p. 47. A. D. 1224). In the L. P. R. mention is made of a landowner whose name is spelt Hoiland, A. D. 1193,

Hoilland, A. D. 1201, and Holand, A. D. 1203. In R. S. is one whose name is spelt Holand and Huland (A. D. 1241).

The grouping of all these forms under one is not easy. I am inclined to suppose two original forms Holand and Holland, the former denoting high land, O. E. *hoh* a projecting ridge of land, and the latter low land, O. E. *hol* hollow, applicable respectively to Upholland and Down-holland. These O. E. words were modified by the Danish Settlers, who brought with them a qualifying word often used in place names, *høi*, hill or high. The form Holland, when the meaning of the word was lost, superseded the others.

LAILAND; assuming that the Hundred took its name from the village, which appears as Leilande (L. P. R., p. 320, c. A. D. 1140). Laylande (R. S., p. 194 v. A. D. 1301), Laylond (R. S., v. 31, p. 54, of the Exchequer subsidy A. D. 1332), the first part of the word is the O. E. *leah* meadowland, frequently used as a suffix.

4. The suffix *Lei*, O. E. *leah*, field, meadow. This suffix, fairly common in some parts of D. B. occurs only in *Chenulveslei*, *Wibaldeslei*, *Wallei*, and possibly in *Boltelai*.

CHENULVESLEI, passing through Knuvesle (R. S., p. 8) has become Knowsley. The first part of the word is the name of the original possessor Cenwulf.

WIBALDESLEI. Here also the first part of the word denotes possibly the owner, but the place has not been identified. There is a Wibaldelai in the Cheshire survey, of which the modern form is Wimbaldsley.

WALLEI. First appears under the year 798 of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and is spelt Hwælleage. In L. P. R., p. 246, A. D. 1211 we meet with Walelega, in R. S., p. 185, A. D. 1298 Whallay. The letter *h* must be considered part of the original word, but this seems ignored in the suggestion of Dr. Whitaker, the Historian of Whalley, that the word means "field of wells".

BOLTELAI. As a personal name this appears as Botle in R. S., p. 179, A. D. 1295. In R. S., v. 31, pp. 23, 104, of the Lay Subsidy A. D. 1332, it is spelt Bothull and Botull. The first part of the word is the O. E. *botl* or *bold*, house or hall. The modern form of the word is Bootle.

5. The termination *Dele*, *Del*. O. N. *dalr*, *dæl*. This is a common suffix in Norway and Iceland, but comparatively rare in Denmark, and the south of England. It is also uncommon in the Danish parts of England, e. g. Lincolnshire. In the D. B. it occurs in *Chirchedele*, *Einulvesdel* and *Schelmernesdele*.

Third, Maincestre (R. S., v. 27, p. 50); and Maincestre is found in Higden's Polychronicon, p. 261 of the Oxford Edition of 1691. Possibly in both cases *in* may be a misreading of *m* in the originals. The old variety in the spelling renders it uncertain whether the Cymric *maen*, a stone, or the gaelic *mam*, a hill, or indeed either of them, is to be regarded as the first part of the word.

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IT is still a debateable question whether in those cases where W. Gmc : *a* appears as *a* in O. E.; e. g. *dagas*, *basu* (Mercian *deagas* < *dāgas*; *beasu*), *crabba* etc., etc., this *a* is to be regarded as W. Gmc : *a* preserved under certain conditions, or whether on the other hand it is due to a common O. E. *æ* which has been un-fronted. Again in cases when *Brechung* has taken place, was W. Gmc : *a* preserved before the *Brechung*-consonants, and subsequently diphthongised, or did the usual fronting to *æ* take place in Primitive O. E. here as elsewhere so that W. Gmc : *\*arm*, became Pr : O. E. *\*ærm* < *\*æ<sub>u</sub> rm* etc. Did W. Gmc : *a* become *æ* in Pr : O. E. *every where*, in the first instance (except of course before nasals) or was it retained as such, altogether, before back vowels, until such time as it was diphthongised in the *Brechung*-period? The former view is that expressed by Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 436, and still held by him as I have the advantage of learning from private conversation. This view was also held by Cosijn, *altwestsächs : Gr* : 1888, § 3, p. 7 etc.; and has quite recently been strongly and clearly stated by Sokol in his *Lehrbuch d. ae Spr* : §§ 124, 132, 136, and 138 2, and 139 1.

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seem to be any authority for Baines's suggestion (vol. IV, p. 3) that the latter part of the word is *beck* (a brook). It may be the Old Celtic word *boce* meaning soft (see Dr. Skeat's *Dictionary s. v. bog*) and point to the existence of an old moss. Other traces of such a moss stretching along the east side of the Tarbock brook down to the Mersey, are seen in Ditchfield, Ditton, Marsh Green, etc. The first part may be the name of the brook; there are rivers Tar and Tara in Ireland, and Tar is a component of several place-names situate near the sea and other waters.

12. HINNE. This is supposed to represent the modern Ince near Crosby though there are two difficulties, the presence of the *h*, and the absence of *s*. The form Inis occurs A. D. 1301 (R. S., p. 195); so that it is not unlikely we have here the Gaelic *Innis* a sheltered valley, a pasture field. Ince in Makerfield is found monosyllabic, *Ins*, in A. D. 1332 (R. S., v. 31, p. 6 of the Exchequer Subsidy).

13. SPEC. O. E. *spic*, bacon, lard. In Bosworth-Toller's A. S. *Dictionary* under the word, we read "Spic occurs in names of places where swine were fed".

14. CILDEUELLE. The spelling of the word with *c* by the Norman scribe, and not *ch*, suggests that he pronounced the first syllable of the word as is done at the present day. But in a charter of A. D. 1094 (L. P. R., p. 290) the spelling is Kydewelle. The O. N. *kelda*, later *kilde* means a spring so that the first part of the word may be an addition to the latter (O. E. *wella* a spring) by Scandinavian settlers to explain it.

There is a modern Danish word *kildevæld* "fountain head" of the same formation. In view however of an early spelling in *wall* (Chaldewall, A. D. 1238, R. S., p. 76) it is quite possible that the latter part of the word may represent O. N. *völlr* a field.

15. WAURETREU. The modern spelling is Wavertree. There is a local pronunciation *Wautre* or *Wartre* which suggests the O. N. *vargtre*, "wolf tree", a poetic word for "the gallows". But while Baines (vol. iii, p. 759) speaks of Waudter, Wartre, as spellings of the word found in ancient records, he gives no specific date. In L. P. R., p. 35, A. D. 1176 we meet with Wauertrea, which points to the doubtful letter being *v*. The syllable *treu* may be taken as the O. E. *treow*, tree. If it had been the Cymric *tref* it would most probably have occupied the first place in the compound word as in Trefriw. The O. E. *wæfre*, flickering, suggests an appearance, as of an *ignis fatuus*.

16. MELINGE. Appears as Mellinges in L. P. R., p. 78, A. D. 1193,

and in R. S., p. 118, A. D. 1256; the word is probably a patronymic, and suggests Mel as the founder's name; the root, conjecturally, of the words Melby, Melcombe, &c.

17. LEIATE. If this is a real word it suggests Leegate, a place-name in Cumberland. But it is usually assumed to be the modern Lydiate, a word, however, that is always spelt with a *d*. There is a Simon de Ludehat mentioned in A. D. 1224 (R. S., p. 44); and in R. S., v. 31, p. 21, of the Exchequer Lay Subsidy A. D. 1332 we have the two forms Lydyate, Lidyate. It is probably the O. E. *lud-geat* a side-gate. Such a word as Liddington (Wiltshire) suggests that Lid may also be a personal name.

18. ACRER. If this spelling really represents what the Norman commissioners heard, who conducted the survey, it suggests the O. N. *akrar*, arable land, a not uncommon name of farms in Norway and Iceland. It would be an appropriate name to the low-lying fields of Great Altcar, near the Scandinavian Fornebei. In R. S., p. 113, A. D. 1251, we have the form Altekarr, "the marsh by the river Alt". There is a local pronunciation *Akker*.

19. BLACHEBURNE. The "black brook." O. E. *burne* implies a running stream, the O. N. *brunnr*, a well or spring.

20. HUNNICOT. Modern Huncoat. The plural Hunnicotes appears in R. S. p. 87, A. D. 1241. Baines (vol. iii, p. 285) gives an early spelling (A. D. 1267) with *d*, Hundicotes. The first part of the word contains the name of the owner of the cot. There is a patronymic in the Hunningham of Warwick and the Hunnington of Worcester. The spelling with *d* suggests the O. N. *hundi* (hound) a not uncommon proper name.

21. SALFORD. There is the spelling Sauford, A. D. 1168 (L. P. R., p. 12). "The ford" (over the Irwell) "by a willow" (O. E. *sealh*).

22. RADECLIVE. Modern Radcliffe. The spelling Redeclif (L. P. R., p. 355, A. D. 1198) suggests the meaning of the word.

23. MAMECESTRE. The editions of the *Itinerary of Antoninus* and the *Oxford Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* spell the Roman name of Manchester, Man..... The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 923 spells the word with *m*, Mameceaster. The general spelling throughout the middle ages is also with *m*. In the L. P. R., p. 38, A. D. 1177, we meet with Mammecestra, and on p. 50, A. D. 1182, Mamecestre. In a Clerical subsidy (R. S., v. 33, p. 27) of c. 1538, the spelling with *n* is seen, Mancestrie, and yet in the same volume (p. 11) a spelling of the same or later date in a Clergy List is Mamcestrie. There is a spelling with *in* in a document of the reign of Henry the

Third, Maincestre (R. S., v. 27, p. 50); and Maincestre is found in Higden's Polychronicon, p. 261 of the Oxford Edition of 1691. Possibly in both cases *in* may be a misreading of *m* in the originals. The old variety in the spelling renders it uncertain whether the Cymric *maen*, a stone, or the gaelic *mam*, a hill, or indeed either of them, is to be regarded as the first part of the word.

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that in O. Fris: also, the *a* was retained, and not fronted to *e*, before precisely the same consonants, and consonant-combinations which in O. E. produce *Brechung*. Bülbring, in his review of Sokol's book, Beibl: z Anglia Jan. 1903, p. 3 etc., again definitely rejects the view of Sweet.

Having lately had occasion to examine with some care the development of W. Gmc: *a* in O. E. I have arrived at the opinion that the question is by no means settled against the conclusions of Sweet. I now propose to attempt to deal with the facts and arguments both for and against either point of view. The argument drawn from O. Frisian I may give up at once, since I am increasingly, sceptical concerning the existence of the "Anglo-Frisian" dialect.

If we approach the question from the point of view of phonetic probability, the theory that W. Gmc: *a* was fronted *everywhere* first of all, appears to be the most natural and simplest view to take. If this was not so, then we are bound to assume that during the period at which the independent fronting process was in progress, W. Gmc: *a* before *h*, and *h* + consonant; before *rr*, or *r* + another consonant; and before *ll*, or *l* + another consonant, had already been in some way differentiated in sound from *a* in other positions: the same must also be assumed for *a* when followed by a back vowel in the following syllable. This assumption is however not generally made, and it would indeed be difficult to make for *a* followed by a back vowel in the next syllable, since in the case of the combination *au*, when a back vowel follows immediately, there is no reason whatever to suppose that *a* was not fronted to *æ*, *au* becoming *æu*. If the fronting was not prevented by *u* immediately following, why should the process be suspended by a following back vowel less closely associated with this *a*? Bülbring (*Elementarbuch*, § 130. *Anm*: 1 and 2) indeed supposes that W. Gmc: *a* became first of all 'palatales *a*', that is an advanced or outer variety of the back vowel, in O. E.

This *a* remained according to Bülbring before the Brechung combinations etc. until it was later diphthongised, otherwise it was still further advanced to the full front *æ*. It is characteristic of Bülbring's minute and careful methods to make this distinction, and this is I think, an advance on the view that the subsequent diphthongisation took place from the full back *a*, but the principle of *retention* is the same. Again it might be objected to Bülbring's theory that there is a certain improbability in the existence at the same moment, in the same language, of two sounds so much alike to the ear as the forward

*a* (\**a*), and *æ*. I would go further than Bülbring and assume with Sweet and Sokol that W.Gmc:*a* < Pr : O. E. *æ* everywhere except before nasals. When a back vowel stood in the next syllable this *æ* at a later date became *a* again. This change happened apparently after the Brechung period. W. Gmc : \**gata* < \**gætu* < W. S. *gatu*. The un-fronting of *æ* must have taken place before the period of diphthongisation after front consonants, before even original *g* was fronted before front vowels, otherwise \**gætu* would have become \**gætu*, and this, in W. Sax. \**geatu*. In Mercian however, and in part of the Kentish area, \**gætu* became later on *geatu* by u-Umlaut.

W.Gmc:*a* also became *æ* before the Brechung-combinations, and this *æ* subsequently either underwent diphthongisation, or was unfronted to *a* again. The process of Brechung consisted, briefly, in the development of a back vowel glide between a front vowel and a following back (or inverted) consonant. This is obviously the case in the Brechung of W.Gmc:*i* and *e*. Why should it be denied for W.Gmc:*a*? This vowel is fronted in O.E. and completes the trio of front vowels : *i* high, *e*, mid., *æ* low. Brechung is an English process. Further, a more considerable glide exists between a *front* vowel and *back* consonant, than between a *back* vowel and a consonant of the same nature.

Those who disagree with Sweet's view, have to face the difficulty of assuming that although \**basu* could not become \**bæsu*, yet when once \**basu* had become \**baysu*, the first element of the new diphthong could then become *æ*, \**bæysu*; and that while \**arm* could not become \**ærm*, yet when *a* had been diphthongised by Brechung to *ay* in \**ayrm*, the first element could then be fronted to *æ* in \**æyrm* which every one accepts as an intermediate stage to *earm*.

Bülbring (*Anglia, Beibl.* XIV, p. 5) argues against the original existence of *æ* before the Brechung-combinations. His arguments are these: 1). Old Frisian in these cases shows *a* (cp also Morsbach, *Anglia Beibl.* VII 320, and myself *ESl.* XXX, 438). This argument does not now appear to me valid, since the Frisian texts are centuries later than the O. E. period, and the *a* in them may be a late development; for all we know Primitive Frisian may have had \**ærm*, (\**erm*) etc.

2) The few cases of *æ* before -ll, or l + consonant are outweighed by the far more common occurrence of *a* in this position. The *a* forms, as Bülbring says are very frequent in all dialects. But these very *a*-forms require some explanation, since they occur not only in

Anglian, but also in W. S. at all periods, from Ælfred to Ælfric, side by side with the normal diphthongised forms. Again how does Bülbring explain the form of the great King's name, and how the form *ælmihtig*?

The explanation of the latter form is surely that *ll* of *\*all* was shortened before the following consonant in this old compound and that the syllable division was *\*al-mihtig*. In such a case there would be no diphthongisation since the following consonant did not belong to the same syllable, nor would there be, even from Bülbring's point of view, anything to hinder *\*al-* becoming *\*æ-*. May we not apply the same principle to account for the double forms, with and without diphthongisation, in *Cura Pastoralis*, and other pure W. S. texts.

I shall hope in the following remarks to satisfactorily explain the three forms *æ*, *a*, *ea*, e.g. in *wæll* in Ethelwulf's Charter, and also *wall*, by the side of the normal W. S. *weall*. If we assume that Brechung only took place originally before *-ll-*, or *l +* consonant, when both consonants belonged to the same syllable, then we should get Nom: *\*wæyll-weall*, but in the oblique cases *\*wæl-les* etc., Then, by a cross analogy, were developed by-forms: *\*wæll*; after the Brechung period, in Nom: on the analogy of the oblique cases, and *wealles* etc. in the oblique cases, on the analogy of the old Nom: . Later on the *æ* in the secondary Nom: *\*wæll* became *a* before *-ll-*, giving Nom: *wall*. The *æ* in the original oblique forms would remain, e.g. in *wæl-les* etc. We should thus get three types of the base: *weall*, *wall*, *wæll*. The last type was eliminated, but both of the others survived. I suggest that *Ældred*, *æl-mihtig*. Ælfred (= *\*alfræd* = *\*al-fræd*) may be considered normal forms, and that *wæll* is a survival of a class of forms produced in the manner indicated above, and that the forms with and without Brechung in pure W.S. texts are doublets produced severally in declension under different conditions of syllable division.

3) Bülbring urges such a Northumbrian form as *wærma*, and Anglian *fællan* as evidence that W. Gmc: *a* remained before *r + m* etc. and *ll* etc. Since *æ* in these cases shows an *a* immediately before the *-i-Uml* period, there must have been an *a* in these forms. But this is not conclusive, because *\*wærm* would become *\*warm* again before the period of *-i-Uml*: and the verb may be regarded as a new formation from the adjective, by the addition of suffix *-ian*. Similarly *æ* would become *a* again in Anglian before *-ll*.

As regards the forms *hæbuc*, Erf: 497, *hebuc*, Ep: 497, *besu* Ep: Erf: 716, *bæso*, Ep: 411, Bülbring has undoubtedly a very strong

case when he argues against Sweet's view that *æ* here is the original Pr: O.E. fronting which has not yet been affected by the following *-u*. This un-fronting took place before the *-i-Uml* : , a process which is of course fully developed in the oldest Glosses, *æ* can therefore hardly have survived in the time when Ep: and Erf: were written, as a traditional spelling, when the pronunciation had (in W. S. at any rate) been *basu* for a hundred years or more.

I quite agree with Bülbring that this *æ, e*, cannot be placed on all fours with the vowel in *dæg* etc., and I think we must accept the ingenious explanation of these forms given by him in *Anglia Beibl*: X. 67. But to admit this is not necessarily to admit that W. Gmc: *a* did not originally become *æ* here in Pr: O. E.

I assume the following stages: *\*basu* < *\*bæsu*, whence W. Sax. *basu*, but Mercian *\*bæysu*, which last stage is represented (here I agree with Bülbring) in the Ep: Erf: spellings, and in Leiden 50, *hæbuc*. The same explanation applies to *gæbuli* Ep: Erf: 115, and probably to *stefad* Ep: 837, Erf: *stæfod*. The later Corpus Gl: has both *a* and *ea* forms, *habuc* 118 and 1790, *beosu* 877 (= *\*beasu*) and 1467, *geabuli* 96, but apparently no forms with *æ* or *e*. The diphthongised forms in Cp. must be regarded as the normal later development of the *æy* forms, written *æ, e* in Ep: Erf. The earlier glossaries also have other words with *a* parallel to those in Cp. *nabæ* Cp 625 (Erf *nebu*) *suadu* Ep: Erf: 972. The *a* forms must be loans from another dialect in which no diphthongisation took place, *æ* being merely un-fronted.

Bülbring's contention that *sægān*, *hæbbe* presuppose an *a* in the first syllable before the *-i-Uml* : period, has no bearing on the question of the retention of *a*, since according to the views expressed in this article W. Gmc: *a* < *æ* which became *a* again when followed by a back vowel, before the *-i-Uml*: operated. *\*Sagas* (2<sup>nd</sup> Sing: ) < *\*sægas* < *sagas*. On the base *\*sag-* was formed a new inf: *\*sag-ian* < *\*sægian*; side by side with the old inf: *seġgan* from *\*sægian* from Pr: English *\*sag-ian*.

Lastly there is the group of words such as *gædeling*, *ædeling*, *lætemest* which Kluge (cp. Sievers *ags. Gr.* 3: § 50. 1. Anm: 2) has endeavoured to explain. He assumes *\*gaduling*, *\*aduling* etc., the *a* being retained owing to the *u* in the following syllable, and then fronted by *-i-Uml* : . Here again I see no reason against supposing that *æ* was un-fronted at a period anterior to that in which *-i-Uml*: operated.

As to the process whereby this *a* was fronted subsequently, see the recent remarks of Sievers in *Z. ags Vocalismus* III.

I reject the view of the retention of W.Gmc: *a* in O. E. on the general principle that the same sound changes everywhere in the same direction, in the same language at the same period. If a sound does not everywhere undergo a given change, it must be that an earlier tendency had already taken effect and differentiated the original sound in certain cases. Secondly, it appears to me more consistent with phonetic principles to assume that the diphthongisation of original *a* took place, not from that stage, but from *æ*. I do not however with Sweet urge the *æ* forms discussed above as survivals of this stage. Finally, none of the arguments which have been urged against the view here taken seem to me to tell conclusively against it. I should summarise the process of development thus :

$$a - u < \text{æ} < \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{W. S. } a \text{ Northumbr: } a \\ \text{Merc: } ea \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kentish } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ ea \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$$

$$a + \text{Brechtung-combinations} < \text{æ} < \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{W.S. Kent: } ea \\ \text{Angl: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \bar{a} \\ ea \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$$


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# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYMBOL *e* IN THE KENTISH GLOSSES<sup>1</sup>

BY IRENE F. VILLIAMS.

THE following discussion of the value of *e* in the Kentish Glosses, has arisen out of a more general description of the phonology, and flexion of this text. The material collected brought to light the peculiar usage of the symbol, and suggested various possibilities as to its significance. It seemed possible to discuss these apart from the more general account of the phonology, and I have attempted to do so in the following remarks. It is of interest to observe that while *e* occurs so frequently, and for vowels of such various origin, the symbol *æ* appears only three times, and always for *e*. *Ex* : *lioſestæ* 110, *ðæ* 668, *modriæ* 1190. It is probably in all three cases to be accounted for as lowering due to lack of stress. (For remarks of *e* and *æ* in this text compare Zupitza *Zf.d.A.*, XXI, p. 4, § 6 etc.)

§ 1. The symbol *-e-* occurs with considerable frequency in the Kentish Glosses. It is used on the whole very irregularly, and its usage suggests one or two points of interest regarding the pronunciation of *-e-* in Kentish.

The following material gives a complete picture of the use of *e*, and from it some conclusions may be drawn as to the significance and value of the symbol.

## § 2. *Examples of the spelling.*

### 1) W. G. *a*.

#### a) without mutation, or other change:

1. The best edition of the Glosses is given by Kluge. *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch* II Auflage. This, and Wülcker's edition in Wright. *Wülcker O. E. and, A. S. Vocabularies*, are founded mainly on Zupitza's text. 3 *Zfd. A.* 21. P. 18. 22. P. 223.

$\xi p p e l$  'malum' xxv-962;  $w \xi r r a$  'astutior' xv-509;  $s c \xi r$  'cultrum' xxiii-858;  $w \xi i$  'librabat' viii-274.

*Note.* For this the spelling  $-e-$  occurs as a simple vowel 47 times, and in the diphthong  $ei$ , it occurs 6 times.

b) with *i-mutation*:

$s \xi c$  'sacculum' vii-208;  $s \xi d e r a$  'patruus' i 188.

*Note*  $-e-$ . 43 times.

c) with *breaking*, and *i-mutation*:

$s l \xi h \ddot{a}$  'percutit' i 154. c.

*Note*  $-e-$  before  $h +$  cons. with mutation occurs once

—  $rr.$  or  $+$  cons. — 11 times.

—  $l +$  cons. — 12 times.

2) W. G.  $\ddot{e}$ .

$w \xi r$  vir xiv-487.

*Note*  $e$  -32 examples.

3) W. G.  $ai$ .

a) with *i-mutation*: 1

$to-br \xi t$  xviii-648;  $s e$   $b e \xi t$  'promittit' xii-416;  $g \xi l$  'lactes' xxiv-942;  $h e$   $a r \xi r \ddot{d}$  'refrigerabit' xxix-1062;  $b e \xi c \ddot{a} t$  'inludit' xiv-480;  $g e h w \xi d e$  'modicum' xxiv-946;  $\xi l$  iii-60 'omnis' (bad spelling for  $\xi l c$ .; cf. 547, and also 1000).

*Note*  $-e-$ . 34 examples.

4) W. G.  $\ddot{a}$ .

$g e \xi f e n e d a n$  'advesperascente' vii-186;  $o f e r \xi t u m$  'comesationibus' 888;  $l \xi w e n d$  'proditor' i 156;  $n e$   $g e-e f e n l \xi c$  'ne immiteris' iii-59;  $g e h y d l \xi c t$  'repetit' xvii-602.

*Note*  $-e-$ . 47 examples.

5) W. G.  $\ddot{o}$ .

a) with *i-mutation*:

$f \xi r \ddot{d}$  'transit' vii-184.

*Note*  $-e-$  25 examples.

b) with *i-mutation*:  $-g$ . intervening consonant ( $\bar{e}g > \bar{e}i$ )  $s w \xi i \ddot{d}$  'insonuerit' i-12.

*Note*  $ei$ . one example.

b) W. G.  $au$ .

a) with *i-umlaut*:

$to$   $g e-e \ddot{a} d$  'addunt' xix-667;  $g e-e \ddot{c} e$  xxii-833;  $g e-e \ddot{c} \ddot{a} d u$  xxx-1074.

*Note*  $-e$ . 17 examples.



*Notes suggested by the Material*

§ 3. From the fact that  $-\epsilon-$ , as shown in these examples, stands for sounds of such different value as  $e$  (W. G.  $\check{a}$ .) short, and 'wide', and  $\bar{e}$  (W. G.  $\bar{o}-i$ ) long and 'narrow', and since it is used incidentally to represent almost every other  $e$  in Kentish, while in no group is it exclusive, or even frequent, we must conclude that  $\epsilon$  cannot be regarded as representing one special phonetic value.

§ 4. W. G.  $\bar{e}$  is only once spelt  $\epsilon$  in the glosses, and since  $\epsilon$  is otherwise used for undoubtedly narrow sounds (cf. Ex. 5 etc.), the spelling in this case cannot be regarded as evidence of widening.

§ 5. The spelling  $\epsilon$  in these examples, is that adopted by Zupitza, and by Kluge, but in Wright-Wülcker the spelling  $\bar{e}$  is invariable. Since  $-\epsilon-$ , as shown, often represents a narrow sound, this spelling tends to be erroneous, and a spelling such as  $færd$  VII-184, where the root vowel is i-mutation of  $\bar{o}$ , is particularly misleading.

§ 6. The symbol  $\epsilon$  thus occurs sporadically for almost every  $e$  in Kentish, and cannot be regarded as having any separate, and individual phonetic value. In what way can we account for this spelling? A probable hypothesis is that the spelling was antiquated, and that the scribe, attaching no particular phonetic importance to it, inserted it carelessly here and there.

§ 7. There is however one exception, to the otherwise general, occasional use of  $\epsilon$ . The  $\check{z}$  representing older  $\check{y}$  is never so written. It seems, then, possible that this  $e$ , the latest developed, was also the narrowest; and that the existence of this narrower sound obscured previously existing distinctions between wide and narrow. Thus for any of these older  $e$  sounds, the scribe might carelessly write  $e$ , which, when the dialect had only two varieties of  $e$ , could only be used for the wide sound.

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# A GLOSSARY OF THE MERCIAN HYMNS

(IN MS VESPAS: A. I.)

from the text<sup>r</sup> of *Sweet, Oldest English Texts* pp. 401-20.

BY P. G. THOMAS AND H. C. WYLD

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## *Prefatory Note.*

Some years ago I formed the plan of making a complete Glossary to the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns. After I had slipped about 40 psalms, and all the Hymns, I was prevented by the press of other duties from continuing the work. As I saw no prospect of being able to carry out my plan of a complete Glossary of the whole text for a long time to come, I handed over to Mr. Thomas the material for the Hymns, believing that a glossary of even so small a Mercian text would be useful from several points of view. As I had only classified the slips quite roughly according to alphabetic order, the whole work of arrangement according to word, case, tense, etc., has been done by Mr. Thomas, who has further checked every form and reference, from Sweet's text in O. E. T. and who has had the entire task of deciding the often difficult problems of Grammar and Syntax involved in such a work as the following. On the whole Mr. Thomas has followed the general plan of Cook's *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels*, and has largely adopted the grammatical results of Zeuner in "*Die Spr. des Kent. Psalter's*."

Liverpool, May 1903.

Henry Cecil Wyld.

*aa* adv. semper, 13. 2, 13. 18, 13. 30.

*ābidan* sv. expectare, pp. nsn. sie *abiden* (=expectetur) 7. 2. V. *bidan*.

*Abrahām, Abrām* p. n. Abraham, ds. to *Abrahame* (= ad Abraham) 9. 8; *Abram* (= Abraham) 10. 11.

*ācennan* wv. edere, nasci, pres. part. npn. *acennende* (= nascentia) 8. 11; pp. asm. *acennedne* 13. 8. V. *cennan*, ~~*forccerran*~~.

*āceorfan* sv. succidere, amputare, ind. pret. 1 sg. ic *acearf* (= amputavi) 1. 10; 3 sg. *acearf* 3, 7. V. *forceorfan*.

*ācerran* wv. avertere, ind. fut. 1 sg. ic *acerru* (= avertam) 7. 38. V. *cerran*, *forcerran*.

*Adām* p. n. Adda, gs. *Adames* (= Adae) 7. 14.

*ādrifan* sv., ind. fut. 1 sg. onweg *adrifu* (= expellam) 7, 43; infin. onweg *adrifan* (= repellere) 13. 18.

*āfre* adv. umquam, 13. 19.

*ældra* sm. senior, āp. *ældran* 7. 13.

*ār* adv. prius, ante, 4. 9, 13. 6.

*ær* prep. ante, (with dat.), *ær* weorulde (= ante saecula) 13. 1.

*ār-margen* sm. deluculum, as. on *ærmargen* (= deluculo) 11. 12. V. *margen*.

*ætstōndan* sv. adsistere, ind. pres. 2 sg. *ætstondes* 13. 26. V. *stōndan*.

*āfirran* wv. tollere, ind. fut. 1 sg. ic. *afirru* (= tollam)

7. 78; pret. 1 sg. onweg *afirde* (= abstuli) 1. 11.

*āfremðung* sf. alienatio, ds. in *afremðung* (= in alienatione) 6. 28.

*āgen* aj., dsn. his *agnu(m)* sweorde (= ipsius gladio) 1. 10.

*āgeofan* sv. reddere, subj. pres. 3 sg. *ðæt sie rest agefe* (= ut quies reddat) 12. 3. V. *forgeo-fan*.

*ah* conj. numquid, 6. 15.

*āhebban* sv. ind. pret. 3 sg. up *ahof* (= exaltavit) 10. 8; pp. nsm. up *ahefen* (= exaltatum) 4. 1; (= superexaltatus) 8. 23; nsf. up *ahefen*; (= elevatus) 6. 22. V. *ūphebban*,

*ahne* conj. nonne, 7. 10, 7. 65.

*ālādan* wv., ind. pres. 3 sg. eft *alædeð* (= reducit) 4. 13. V. *lādan*, *inlādan*, *tōlādan*, *wiðlādan*, *ymb-lādan*.

*ald* aj. vetus, antiquus, senex, (wk.) gsm. *aldan* 13. 15; (str.) dsm. *aldum* (= sene) 7. 52; (wk.) npn. *aldan* 4. 6.

*aldormon* sm. princeps, np. *aldermen* 5. 25; gp. *aldermon-na* 7. 84; dp. *aldermonnum* 4. 16. V. *monn*.

*ālēsan* wv. redimere, subj. pret. 2 sg. *ðæt ðu alesdes* (= ut redemeris) 13. 6; pp. apm. *alesde* 13. 19. V. *onlēsan*, *tōlēsan*.

*ālēsnis* sf. redemptio, as. *alesnisse* 9. 2.

*all* aj. omnis, universus, totus, cunctus, nsm. *all* 11. 14

<sup>3?</sup>  
 (twice); nsf. *all* 13. 14; nsn.  
*all* 11. 14; dsf. *alre* 2. 9; npm.  
*alle* 5. 26, 7. 6, 7. 86, 8. 6;  
 npf. *alle* 10. 4; npn. *all* 7. 87,  
 8. 1, 8. 3, 8. 11, 8. 13, 8. 15;  
 apf. *alle* 3. 19; apn. *all* 3. 9,  
 3. 14, 7. 56, 12. 15; gp. *allra*  
 1. 4; *alra* 9. 5, 12. 1, 13. 1, 13.  
 27; dpm. *allu(m)* 3. 24, 9. 11.  
*an* num. unus, nsm. *an* 7. 59;  
 ~ <sup>sm</sup> (= unum) 12. 14,  
*ana* adv., dryhten *ana* (= Do-  
 minus solus) 7. 22; *ana* aspyr-  
 gend (= solus investigator)  
 13. 25.  
*ancende* aj. unigenitus, (str.)  
 dsm. *ancendu(m)* 13. 31; (wk.)  
 dsm. *ðæm ancendan* (= Uni-  
 genito) 11. 15. V. *cennan*.  
*æreccan* wv. erigere, ind. pret.  
 3 sg. *arehte* 9. 2. V. *reccan*.  
*arian* wv. honorare, honorifi-  
 care, ind. fut. 1 sg. *ariu*  
 (= honorabo) 5. 3; pp. nsm.  
*gearad* (= honorificatus) 5. 1.  
*ārisan* sv. resurgere, exurgere,  
 subj. pres. 3 pl. *arisen* (= ex-  
 surgant) 7. 74; infin. *arisan*  
 13. 9.  
*arlēas* aj. impius, npm. *arlease*  
 4. 18.  
*āscerpan* wv. exacuere, ind. fut.  
 1 sg. ic *āscerpu* (= exacuam)  
 7. 80.  
*āslidan* sv. labi, pp. nsm. *asli-*  
*den bið* (= lapsus fuerit) 7. 68.  
*āspringan* sv. deficere, ind. pret.  
 3 pl. *asprungun* 6. 37; pp. apm.  
*asprungne* 7. 71.  
*āspyrgend* sm. investigator, ns.  
*aspyrgend* 13. 25.

*āstigan* sv. ascendere, descen-  
 dere, discendere, ind. fut. 2  
 sg. *astiges* (= ascendes) 6. 17;  
 subj. pres. 1 sg. *ðæt ic astige*  
 (= ut ascendam) 6. 34; 3 pl.  
*astigen* 7. 2; infin. *astigan* 13.  
 20; pres. part. nsm. *asti-*  
*gende* 6. 17. V. *stigan*.  
*āswindan* sv. tabescere, ind. pret.  
 3 pl. *aswundun* 5. 26; pres.  
 part. npm. *aswindende* 7. 47.  
*ād* sm., as. *done swergendan ād*  
 (= iusjurandum) 9. 7.  
*ādēnenes* sf. extensio, ns. *ādenenes*  
 7. 48.  
*ādēnnan* wv. extendere, expan-  
 dere, ind. fut. 2 sg. *ādenes*  
 (= extends) 6. 18; pret. 2  
 sg. *ādenedes* 5. 20; 3 sg. *āde-*  
*nede* 7. 21. V. *ðennan*.  
*atur* sn. venenum, apn. *atur*  
 (= venena) 11. 9.  
*āweccan* wv. suscitare, resusci-  
 tare, excitare, concitare, ind.  
 pret. 2 sg. *awæhtes* 6. 27;  
*awehtes* 13. 15; 3 pl. *awehtun*  
 7. 32, 7. 41; subj. pres. 3 sg.  
*awecce* (= suscitet) 12. 13;  
 pres. part. nsm. \**awecende* 4. 14.  
*āweorpan* sv. projicere, ind. pret.  
 2 sg. *awurpe* 3. 18; 3 sg. *awe-*  
 (a)*rp* 5. 2, 5. 6.  
*bærnan* wv. concremare, ind.  
 pret. 3 sg. *bernde* 7. 46.  
*bān* sn. os, ap. *ban* 3. 9; in *ban*  
 (= in ossa) 6. 33. V. *swīr-bān*.  
*bearn* sn. filius, np. *bearn* 5. 36,  
 7. 8, 7. 40, 7. 87, 8. 16; ap.  
*bearn* 4. 11, 7. 14; gp. *bearna*  
 7. 26, 7. 37, 7. 88; dp. of

- bearnu(m)* (= de filiis) 1. 11;  
*bearnu(m)* 3. 22, 7. 50.
- bec* sn. dorsum, tergum, as. on  
*bec* \**ðinne* (= post tergum  
tuum) 3. 18; gs. *beces* 7. 48.
- bēcen* V. *forebecen*.
- (ge) *bed* sn. oratio, gs. *gebedes* 6.  
32.
- befaldan* sv. convolvere, pp. nsf.  
*befalden* 3. 5.
- befōn* sv. comprahendere, ind.  
fut. 1 sg. *befoo* (= comprae-  
hendam) 5. 14; pret. 3 pl.  
*befengun* 5. 24. V. *onfōn*.
- (ge) *bēgan* wv. redigere, retun-  
dere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *gebegeð*  
(= redegit) 11. 6; (= retun-  
dat) 11. 7.
- bēnd* sf. vinculum, ap. *bende* 6.  
27; dp. mid *bendum* (= vin-  
culus) 13. 11.
- † *\*beoler* V. *weoler*.
- bēon* av., ind. pres. 1 sg. *eam*  
(= sum) 4. 3, 7. 75; 2 sg.  
*earð* (= es) 2. 1, 2. 2, 5. 22,  
7. 35, 8. 22, 13. 20, 13. 23,  
13. 26 (twice), 13. 28, 13.  
29; *bist* *geced* (= vocaveris)  
9. 12; 3 sg. *is* 2. 2, 2. 4, 2.  
8, 3. 4, 3. 5, 3. 6, 4. 1, 4. 2, 4.  
4 (twice), 4. 7, 4. 8, 5. 1, 5.  
5, 5. 9, 5. 12, 6. 7, 6. 9, 6.  
22, 6. 33, 7. 57, 7. 68, 10. 5,  
12. 8, 13. 14; *nis* (= non  
est) 4. 3, 4. 5, 7. 6, 7. 40, 7.  
57, 7. 61, 7. 76, 7. 77; *bið*  
*lifd* (= vivitur) &c., 3. 15, 6.  
20, 7. 88; 1 pl. *earun* nume-  
ne (= qui tenebamur) 13.  
10; 3 pl. *sind* (= sunt) 3. 11.  
4. 9, 4. 17, 6. 8, 6. 12, 7.  
66, 7. 69, 7. 72, 8. 3, 9. 4;  
*earun* *gegearwad* (= praepa-  
rantur) 4. 7; *biod* *onstýred*  
(= moventur) 8. 14; fut. 2  
sg. *bist* (= eris) 6. 5; 3 sg. *bið*  
(= fuerit) 6. 4, 7. 68; (= erit)  
6. 8, 7. 39; ne *bið* (= non  
erit) 6. 36; *bið* *gestrongad*  
(= roborabitur) &c., 4. 19, 6.  
29, 7. 70; 3 pl. ne *biod* (= non  
erunt) 6. 38; pret. 1 sg. *wes*  
(= eram) 1. 1; 2 sg. *were*  
(= eras) 13. 1; \**gemeode* *ðu*  
*were* (= dignatus es) 13. 6;  
*gemeodemad* (*ðu*) *were* 13.  
12, 13. 18, 13. 20; 3 sg. *wes*  
(= erat) 7. 18, 7. 23; (= fuit)  
1. 7; *geuntrumad* *wes* (= in-  
firmata est) &c., 4. 12, 6. 12,  
7. 16, 7. 29 (twice), 7. 30, 7. 36,  
7. 37, 9. 3, 10. 10; 3 pl. *werun*  
(= sunt) 4. 10, 5. 23;  
(= erunt) 7. 48; subj. pres.  
3 sg. *sie* 3. 17; (= sit) 11.  
10 (twice), 11. 12; *sie* *abiden*  
(= expectetur) 7. 2; 3 pl.  
*sien* (= sint) 7. 54; (= fiant)  
5. 28, 7. 75.
- beoran* sv. ferre, ind. pres. 1 pl.  
*beorað* 13. 17.
- beorend* V. *unbeorend*.
- beornan* sv. ardere, exardere, ind.  
pret. 3 sg. *born* (= exarsit) 7.  
44; (= ardebit) 7. 45.
- berge* V. *win-berge*.
- betwih* prep. inter, (with acc.)  
*betwih* *broður* (= inter fra-  
tres) 1. 1.
- bicuman* sv. devenire, ind. pret.  
3 pl. *bicwomun* 5. 7. V. *cuman*,  
*iōcuman*, *ufancuman*.

- bidan* sv. expectare, ind. fut.  
3 pl. ne *bidað* (= non expectabunt) 3. 20. V. *ābidan*.
- biddan* sv. rogare, precare, subj.  
pres. 1 pl. *bidden* we (= rogemus) 12. 14; pres. part. apm. *biddende* (= precantes) 12. 15.
- biforan* prep. ante, coram, (with acc.) *biforan* onsiene (= ante faciem) 6. 10, 9. 12; (with dat.) *biforan* him (= coram ipso) 9. 10.
- bigeotan* sv. acquirere, ind. pret.  
2 sg. *bigete* 5. 29.
- bigyrdan* wv. accingere, pp. npm. *bigyrde* 4. 9.
- bihaldan* sv. adtendere, imper. *bihald* 7. 1. V. *haldan*.
- bihýran* wv. locare, ind. pret.  
3 pl. *bihyrdun* 4. 10.
- bilūcan* sv. claudere, ind. fut.  
3 sg. *biluceð* (= clausurit) 12. 9.
- bindan* sv. ligare, pp. npm. *gebundne* (= ligati) 13. 11.
- binn* sf. praeseptum, ds. in *binne* (= in praeseptio) 6. 38.
- birhtu* sf. splendor, claritas, n. and vs. *birhtu* 6. 8, 11. 1; as. *birhtu* 6. 10; ds. in *birhtu* (= in claritate) 6. 41; (= in splendore) 6. 24.
- biscērian* wv. privare, ind. pres.  
3 sg. *biscereð* (= privavit) 7. 50; fut. 1 sg. *biscergu* (= privabo) 7. 52.
- biscop* sm. sacerdos, np. *biscopas* 8. 17.
- bisencan* wv. demergere, mergere, ind. pret. 3. sg. *besencte* 5. 7;  
3 pl. *bisenctun* 5. 17.
- bismerian* wv. inritare, ind. fut.  
1 sg. *bismeriu* (= inritabo) 7. 44. V. *smirwan*.
- biswican* sv. decipere, ind. pret.  
3 sg. *biswac* 13. 4.
- bitter* aj. amarus, (superl.) nsf. *bitternis* min sie *bittreste* (= amarissima) 3. 17.
- bitternis* sf. amaritudo, ns. *bitter-nis* 3. 17; ds. in *bitternisse* (= in amaritudine) 3. 14.
- biwāgan* wv. fallere, infin. *biwāgan* 13. 24.
- bledsian* wv. benedicere, subj. pres. 3 sg. *bledsie* (= benedicat) 8. 16; (= benedicite) 8. 10; 1 pl. *bledsien* we (= benedicamus) 8. 20; imper. 2 pl. *bled(siað)* (= benedicite) 8. 1 (twice), 8. 2 (twice), 8. 3, 8. 4, 8. 5 (twice), 8. 6 (twice), 8. 7 (twice), 8. 8, 8. 9 (twice), 8. 10, 8. 11, 8. 12, 8. 13 (twice), 8. 14, 8. 15, 8. 16, 8. 17 (twice), 8. 18, 8. 19, 8. 20; pp. nsm. *gebledsad* 8. 22, 9. 1.
- blissian* wv. laetari, imp. 2 pl. *blissiað* (= laetamini) 7. 85, 7. 86; pp. nsf. *geblissad* (= laetata) 4. 3.
- bliðe* aj. laetus, nsm. *bliðe* 11. 11; npm. *bliðe* 11. 10.
- blōd* sn. sanguis, ns. *blod* 7. 87; as. *blod* 7. 28, 13. 13; ds. in *blode* (= in sanguine) 7. 83; from *blode* (= a sanguine) 7. 83; mid ðine *blode* (= tuosanguine) 13. 19.

*bæn* sf. praex, ap. *bæne* (= praeces) 12. 5.  
*boga* sm. arcus, ns. *boga* 4. 8; as. *bogan* 6. 19.  
*borg-gelda* sm. debitor, dp. *borg-geldum* 13. 21.  
*brēdan* wv. dilatare, pp. nsm. *gebreded* 7. 30; *gebræded* 4. 2.  
*bregdan* sv. evaginare, pp. dsn. *gebrogdnu(m)sweorde* (= evaginato gladio) 1. 9.  
*(ge)breocan* sv. confringere, ind. pret. 2 sg. \**gebrec* (= confregit) 5. 9. V. *tōbreocan*.  
*brēost* sn. pectus, gp. *breosta* (= pectorum) 13. 25.  
*brid* sm. pullus, ns. *brid swalwan* (= pullus hirundinis) 3. 10; ap. *briddas* 7. 21.  
*bringan* V. *forðbringan*, *tōbringan*.  
*broca* V. *wiðerbroca*.  
*brōður* sm. frater, np. *broður* 1. 7; ap. betwih *broður* (= inter fratres) 1. 1.  
*bucca* sm. hircus, gp. *buccena* 7. 27.  
*būtan* prep. praeter, extra, sine, (with dat.) *butan ðe* (= extra te), &c. 4. 4, 7. 50, 7. 76, 9. 9.  
*(ge)cēgan* wv. vocare, invocare, ind. fut. 1 sg. *icgecegu* (= invocabo) 7. 5; subj. pres. 1 pl. *cegen we* 11. 4; imper. *gecegað* 2. 7; pp. nsm. *ðu bist geced* (= vocaveris) 9. 12.  
*cēle* sm. frigus, ns. *cele* 8. 8.  
*cennan* wv. gignere, parere, ind. pret. 3 sg. *cende* 4. 11, 7. 35;

pres. part. apf. *cennende* (= nascentias) 7. 24, 7. 45. V. *ācennan*.  
*ceorfan* V. *āceorfan*, *forceorfan*.  
*cēosan* sv. eligere, pp. apm. *gecorene* 5. 6.  
*cęrran* wv. convertere, pp. nsf. *gecerred* 2. 1. V. *ācęrran*, *torcęrran*.  
*(ge)clāsnian* wv. mundare, ind. fut. 3 sg. *geclasnad* (= munda-bit) 7. 90.  
*clēne* aj. castus, nsm. *clæne* 12. 11; nsf. *clene* 12. 7; apm. *clene* 11. 8.  
*clēnnes* sf. pudor, ns. *clennes* 11. 12.  
*cleopian* wv. clamare, ind. fut. 1 sg. *cleopiu* (= clamabo) 3. 10.  
*(ge)clystre* sn. \**botyrum* (= butyrum), as. *geclystre* 7. 25.  
*cnāwan* V. *oncncāwan*.  
*cneht* sm. puer, vs. *cneht* 9. 11; as. *cneht* 10. 9; gs. *cnehtes* 9. 3.  
*cnēoris* sf. generatio, natio, ns. *cneoris* 3. 4, 6. 36, 7. 8, 7. 39; gs. *cneorisse* 7. 12; np. *cneorisse* 10. 4; gp. *cneorissa* 7. 12.  
*cālan* wv. refrigerare, pres. part. nsm. *cælende* 12. 11.  
*Crīst* p.n. Christus, ns. *Crist* 11. 9; as. *Crist* 12. 13; gs. *Cristes* 4. 22, 12. 14; ap. *Cristas* (= Christos) 6. 26.  
*culfre* sf. columba, ns. *culfre* 3. 11.  
*cuman* sv. venire, ind. fut. 3 sg. *cymed* (= veniet) 6. 6; pret. 3 pl. *cwomun* 7. 34. V. *bicuman*, *tōcuman*, *ufancuman*.

- cunnan* av. noscere, ind. pret.  
3 pl. *cudun* 7. 34; subj. pres.  
3 sg. *cunne* (= noverit) 12.  
11.
- cūd* aj. certus, notus, asf. *cūde*  
3. 22; on *cūde* tid (= certo  
tempore) 13. 27; apf. *cyde* 2.  
7.
- cūðian* wv. innotescere, ind. pres.  
2 sg *cudas* (= innotesceris) 6.  
2.
- cwæcian* wv. tremere, ind. pret.  
3 sg. *cwæcade* 13. 14.
- cwæcung* sf. tremor, ns. *cwæ-  
cung* 5. 26, 5. 27, 6. 32.
- cwælman* wv. mortificare, ind.  
pres. 3 sg. *cwælmed* 4. 12.
- cweodelian* V. *wergcweodelian*.
- cweoðan* sv. dicere, ind. pres.  
3 sg. *cweð* 6. 19; 2 pl. *cweoðað*  
(= dicitis) 2. 6; fut. 1 sg.  
*cweðe* (= dicam) 3. 13; *cweo-  
ðu* (dicam) 7. 79; 3. pl.  
*cweoðað* (= dicent) 7. 13, 10.  
3; pret. 1 sg. *cweð* 3. 1, 3.  
2; 3 sg. *cweð* 5. 14, 7. 38, 7.  
52, 7. 72; subj. pres. 3 pl.  
*ðaet hie ne cweðen* (= ne  
dicant) 7. 55.
- cynedōm* sm. imperium, as. *cyne-  
do(m)* 4. 22.
- cynedrymm* sm. sceptra, as. ofer  
*cynedrym* 6. 19. V. *megenðrymm*.
- cyning* sm. rex, vs. *cyning* 13. 1;  
ds. *cyninge* 4. 22.
- cynn* sn. genus, progenies; as. in  
*cyn* 10. 6; gs. *cynnes* 13. 5;  
ongegn fremdes *cynnes* men  
(= obviam alienigenae) 1. 8;  
ds. from *cynn* in *cyn* 10. 5.
- cýðnis* sf. testamentum, gs. *cýð-  
nisse* 9. 7.
- dæl* sm. pars, ns. *dæl* 7. 16.
- dælan* wv. partire, ind. fut. 1 sg.  
*dællu* (= partibo) 5. 14. V.  
*tōdælan*.
- Dauid* p. n. David, gs. *Dauides*  
(= David) 9. 3.
- dēað* sm. mors, ns. *deað* 3. 20;  
as. *deað* 6. 27; gs. in\**deades*  
*deades* (= in umbra mortis)  
9. 16; ðorh rode *deades* 13.  
16; *deades* 13. 21.
- dēaw* sm. ros, ns. *dēaw* 7. 3, 8.  
5.
- dēd* sf. actus, ap. *dede* 11. 6.
- deg* sm. dies, ns. *deg* 7. 68, 8. 7,  
11. 11; vs. *deg* 11. 2; as.  
midne *deg* (= merities) 11.  
13; as. *deg* 12. 1, 12. 9; ds.  
*dege* 12. 4; in ðæm *dege* (= in  
illa die) 2. 6; in *dege* (= in  
die) 6. 34, 7. 67; to *dege* (=  
hodie) 3. 22; ap. *dægas* 7. 11;  
gp. *dæga* 3. 1, 11. 2; dp.  
allum *degum* (= cunctis die-  
bus) 3. 24; allum *dægum* 9.  
11.
- dēgol* aj. secretus, (weak) apn.  
ða *deglan* (= secreta) 13. 24.
- deg-red* sn. crepusculum, aurora,  
ns. *degred* 11. 13, 11. 14; as.  
*degred* 11. 13.
- dēgulnis* sf. occultum, ds. in *de-  
gulnisse* (= in occulto) 6. 30.
- dēoful* sm. diabolus, daemonius,  
ns. *dioful* 13. 4; dp. *dēoflu(m)*  
7. 33.
- dēoful-geld* sn. idolum, dp. *dēoful-  
geldu(m)* (= in idolis) 7. 42.



*dēor* V. *wildēor*.

(ge)*dergan* wv. ledere, infin. *ge-dergan* 13. 19.

*dimnes* sf. caligo, ns. *dimnes* 12. 9.

*dæma* sm. iudex, ns. *dæma* 13. 23.

*dæman* wv. iudicare, ind. fut. 3 sg. *dæmed* (= iudicabit) 4. 21; *dæmed* 7. 69.

*dohter* sf. filia, gp. *dohtra* 7. 37.

*dōm* sm. iudicium, as. *dom* 7. 81 (twice), 7. 88; np. *domas* 7. 6.

*dōn* av. gerere, facere, agere, peragere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *dearfandæd* (= pauperem facit) 4. 13; fut. 1 sg. *dom* (= agam) 2. 3; *gedom* (= faciam) 7. 76; 3 sg. \**doð* (= faciet) 3. 23; *dæd* (= aget) 7. 80; 3 pl. ne *doð* (= non facient) 6. 37; pret. 3 sg. *dyde* (= fecit) 2. 9, 7. 10, 7. 17, 7. 30, 7. 56, 9. 1, 10. 4, 10. 6; 3 pl. *dydun* organan (= fecerunt organum) 1. 3; subj. pres. 1 sg. *ðæt* (ic) seo(l)fa *doa* (= quod ipse fecerim) 3. 14; 2 sg. *ðæt gedoe* (= facias) 6. 26; imper. hale us *doa* (= salvos nos fac) 3. 23; *doð* (= facite) 2. 7; infin. to *donne* (= ad faciendam) 9. 6; to *donne* (= gerendi) 11. 7; pres. part. nsm. *donde* forebecen (= faciens prodigia) 5. 19; pp. dsm. \**gedænu* (= peracto) 12. 4.

*draca* sm. draco, gp. *dræcena* 7. 64.

*drēdan* V. *ondrēdan*.

*drēncan* V. *indrēncan*.

*drifan* V. *ādrifan*.

*drincan* sv. bibere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *drinceð* 7. 28; pret. 2 pl. ge *druncun* (= bibebatis) 7. 73; subj. pres. 1 pl. *drincen* we (= bibamus) 11. 11.

(ge)*dræfan* wv. turbare, conturbare, pres. part. apn. *gedræfende* 6. 31; pp. nsf. *gedræfed* 6. 4; nsn. *gedræfed* 6. 33.

*dryge* aj. siccus, as. *ðorh dryge* (= per siccum) 5. 36.

*druncennis* sf. ebrietas, as. \**drincenisse* 11. 11.

*dryhten* sm. dominus, ns. *dryht(en)* 2. 4, 4. 4, 4. 7, 4. 12, 4. 13, 4. 21, 5. 4, 5. 5, 5. 35, 6. 19, 7. 7, 7. 22, 7. 36, 7. 60, 7. 69, 7. 90, 8. 1, 8. 2, 8. 4 (twice), 8. 6, 8. 17, 9. 1; he *dryht(en)* (= ipse dominus) 1. 4; vs. *dryht(en)* 2. 1, 3. 12, 3. 15, 3. 23, 5. 8, 5. 9, 5. 18, 5. 28, 5. 31, 5. 32, 5. 33, 6. 1, 6. 16, 6. 39, 13. 1, 13. 15, 13. 22; as. *dryht(en)* 4. 20, 8. 1, 8. 2 (twice), 8. 3, 8. 4 (twice), 8. 5, 8. 6 (twice), 8. 7 (twice), 8. 8, 8. 9 (twice), 8. 10 (twice), 8. 11, 8. 12 (twice), 8. 13, 8. 14, 8. 15 (twice), 8. 16 (twice), 8. 17, 8. 18, 8. 19 (twice), 8. 20, 10. 1; *dryht(en)* god (= dominum deum) 3. 3; gs. *dryht(nes)* 3. 25, 7. 4, 7. 16, 8. 1, 8. 2. 8. 4, 8. 17, 8. 18, 9. 12; \**dryht(en)* (= domini) 4. 16; ds. *dryht(ne)* 1. 4, 1. 8, 2. 6, 2. 9, 4. 1, 5. 1, 6. 38; \**dryht(en)* (= domino) 7. 9.

*drync* sm. potus, ns. *drync* 11. 10.  
*dūst* sn. pulvis, ds. of *duste*  
 (= de pulvere) 4. 14.

*dysig* aj. fatuus, nsn. *dysig* 7. 9.

*eadig* aj. beatus, asf. *eadge* 10. 3.  
*eardiend* sm. habitator, as. *eardiend*  
 3. 4. V. *ineardiend*.

*eardung* sf. habitatio, ns. *eardung*  
 2. 10.

*eardung-hūs* sn. habitaculum,  
 ds. *gegearwadu(m)eardunghuse*  
*đinum* (= praeparato habita-  
 culo tuo) 5. 31.

*earm* sm. brachium, gs. *earmes*  
 5. 27; ds. in *earme* (= in  
 brachio) 10. 6.

*earn* sm. aquila, ns. *earn* 7. 20.

*ēadmod* aj. humilis, npm. *ead-*  
*mode* 8. 19; apm. *eadmode* 10.  
 8.

(ge)*ēadmodian* wv. humiliare,  
 ind. pres. 3 sg. *geeadmodað* 4.  
 14.

*ēadmodnis* sf. humilitas, as.  
*ēadmodnisse* 10. 2.

*ēarwan* V. *oðēarwan*.

*ēawian* V. *oðēawian*.

*ēce* aj. sempiternus, aeternus, pe-  
 rennis, (strong) vsm. *ece*  
 (= aeternae) 13. 1; gsn. *eces*  
 11. 5; (weak) dsf. in *dere ecan*  
*weorulde* (= in sempiterna  
 saecula) 11. 16, 13. 32.

*ēcelic* aj. aeternal, npm. *ecelice* 6.  
 13.

*ēcnis* sf. aeternitas, as. in *ecnisse*  
 (= in aeternum) 5. 33, 7. 79;  
 gs. *ecnisse* 6. 14.

(ge)*edlēanend* sm. remunerator,  
 ns. *geedleanend* 13. 28.

(ge)*edlēanian* wv. retribuere, ind.  
 pres. 3 sg. *geedleanað* 7. 88;  
 fut. 1 sg. *geedleaniu* (= retri-  
 buam) 7. 81; pret. 2 sg.  
*geedleanades* 7. 9.

*Edom* place n. Edom, gs. *ladto-*  
*was Edomes* (= duces Edom)  
 5. 25.

*edwit* sn. obprobrium, as. *edwit*  
 1. 11.

*ēfen* sm. vesper, vespera, as. *oð*  
*efen*, ot *efen* (= usque ad ves-  
 peram) 3. 7, 3. 9; ds. from  
*efenne* (= a vespere) 3. 8.

*efestig* aj. invidus, (str.) asm. *efes-*  
*(tigne)* 11. 7; (wk.) gsm. *des*  
*efestgan* 12. 13.

*eft* adv., *eft* *alædeð* (= reducit)  
 4. 13.

*efter* prep. secundum, (with dat.)  
*efter rime* (= secundum nu-  
 merum) 7. 15.

*efterfylgan* wv. persequi, ind.  
 pres. 3 sg. *efterfylgeð* 7. 58.

*ege* sm. timor, ns. *ege* 5. 27, 7.  
 51; ds. *butan ege* (= sine  
 timore) 9. 9.

*ēge* sn. oculus, gs. *egan* 7. 20;  
 np. *egan* 3. 11.

*ele* sm. oleum, as. *ele* 7. 25.

*ele-trē* sn. oliva, gs. *eletres* 6. 37.

*ēnde* sm. terminus, finis, as. *ende*  
 13. 27; ap. *endas* 4. 21, 7. 15.  
*ēnde-byrdnis* sf. ordo, ds. in *en-*  
*debyrdnisse* 6. 23.

(ge)*ēndian* wv. finire, ind. fut.  
 2 sg. *geendas* (= finies) 3. 7,  
 3. 10.

(ge)*ēndung* sf. consummatio, ds.  
 in *geendunge* (= in consum-  
 matione) 6. 40.

- engel* sm. angelus, as. *engel* 1. 5; np. *englas* 7. 86, 8. 2; gp. *eng(l)a* 7. 15.
- eored* sn. equitatus, ns. *eorud* 5. 34; *eored* 6. 18.
- (ge)*eornung* sf. meritum, dp. *ge-eorningum* (= meritis) 13. 28.
- eorre* sn. ira, as. *eorre* ðin (= iram tuam) 5. 11; fore *eorre* (= propter iram) 7. 37, 7. 53; gs. *earres* 6. 16; ds. in *eorre* (= in ira) 6. 5, 7. 41; from *eorre* (= ab ira) 7. 44.
- eorre* aj. iratus, nsm. *eorre* 2. 1; npf. *eorre* (= iratae) 5. 23.
- eorsung* sf. \*iraecundia, gs. *eorsunge* 5. 12.
- eorðe* sf. terra, ns. *eorðe* 5. 20, 6. 7, 6. 12, 6. 20, 7. 1, 7. 45, 8. 10, 13. 14; as. *eorðan* 6. 25, 7. 90; ofer *eorðan* 7. 50, 7. 54; gs. *eorðan* 4. 17, 4. 21, 6. 15; (= \*terra) 8. 12; *eorðan* 7. 24; ds. *eorðan* 2. 10, 3. 3.
- erfe* sn. hereditas, gs. *erfes* 5. 30.
- erfewordnis* sf. hereditas, gs. *erfewordnisse* 7. 17.
- ēdre* sfp. renae, gp. *ēdra* (= renium) 7. 27.
- fācn* sn. fraus, dolus, gs. *facnes* 11. 9; ds. *facne* (= dolo) 12. 13.
- fæll* sm. casus, ap. *fæl* 11. 7.
- fæmne* sf. virgo, ds. mid. *fæmnan* (= cum virgine) 7. 51; acennedne of *fæmnan* (= editum ex virgine) 13. 8.
- fæt* aj. pinguis, nsm. *fæt* 7. 29.
- fættian* vv. incrassare, ind. pret. 3 sg. *fættade* 7. 30.
- faldan* V. *befaldan*.
- (ge)*fallans* sv. decidere, subj. pres. 3 sg. *gefalle* (= decimat) 5. 27.
- Fāraō* p.n V. *Phāraō*.
- (ge)*fēa* sm. gaudium, ds. in *gefian* (= in gaudio) 2. 5.
- fearan* sv. vadere, ind. fut. 1 sg. *fearu* (= vadam) 3. 1. V. *geondfearan*.
- fearr* sm. taurus, gp. *fearra* 7. 27.
- feder* sm. pater, ns. *feder* 3. 22, 7. 10, 11. 15; vs. *feder* 11. 15, 12. 15, 13. 30; as. *feder* 7. 12, 8. 21, 12. 14; gs. *feadur* 1. 2 (twice), 1. 6, 5. 4, 12. 14; ds. *feder* 9. 8; in *feder* (= in patre) 11. 14; to *feder* (= ad patrem) 11. 5 (three times); mid *feder* 13. 2, 13. 29; np. *feddras* 7. 34; dp. mid *fedru(m)* 9. 6; to *feadrum* (= ad patres) 10. 10.
- federlic* aj. paternus, gsn. *federlices* 11. 1.
- (ge)*feht* sn. bellum, ap. *gefeht* 5. 5.
- feld* sm. campus, np. *feldas* 6. 37; dp. in *feldum* (= in campis) 6. 11.
- fēon* vv. odisse, ind. pret. 3 pl. *fiodun* (= oderunt) 7. 82, 7. 89, 9. 6.
- (ge)*fēon* sv. gaudere, exultare, ind. fut. 1 sg. *gefio* (= gaudebo) 6. 39; pret. 3 sg. *gefæh* (= exultavit) 4. 1, 10.

- 1; imper. *gefeh* (= exulta) 2. 10.
- feond* sm. inimicus, hostis, ns. *feon(d)* 5. 14; *fiond* 13. 14; gs. *fiondes* 12. 13, 13. 15; np. *fond* 7. 61; ap. ofer *feond* (= super inimicos) 4. 2; *feo(n)d* 5. 9; gp. *fionda* 7. 54, 9. 9; *feonda* 7. 84; dp. *feondu(m)* 7. 81; *fiondum* 7. 89, 9. 5.
- feodur-tēme* sfp. quadrigae, dp. mid *feodurtemum* (= cum quadrigis) 5. 34.
- fest* V. *wuldufest*.
- fictreō* sn. ficus, ns. *fictreo* 6. 35.
- Filisteo* place n. Philistis, gs. inar-diende *Filisteos* (= inhabitantes Philistim) 5. 24.
- finger* sm. digitus, np. *fingras* 1. 3.
- firran* V. *āfirran*.
- fiðer* sf. (?) ala, ap. *fiðru* 7. 21.
- flēsc* sn. caro, gs. *flæsces* 13. 7; ap. *flesc* 7. 83.
- flōd* sm. flumen, np. *flodas* 8. 12; dp. in *flodu(m)* (= in fluminibus) 6. 16 (twice); mid *flodum* (= fluminibus) 6. 19.
- flōwan* V. *toflōwan*.
- fædan* wv. pascere, cibare, alere, ind. pret. 1 sg. ic *fædde* (= pascebam) 1. 2; 3 sg. *fo(e)dde* (= cibavit) 7. 24; pres. part. asm. *fædendne* (= alentem) 7. 36.
- fæda* sm. stator, ap. *fædan* 5. 6.
- folc* sn. populus, plebs, ns. *folc* 5. 28, 5. 29, 7. 9, 7. 16; as. *folc* 5. 21, 7. 70; gs. *folces* 6. 26, 7. 90, 9. 2; ds. to *folce* (= ad populum) 6. 35; mid *folce* (= cum populo) 7. 86; *folce* (= plebi) 9. 13; np. *folc* 6. 20; dp. in *folcum* (= in populis) 2. 7.
- fōn* V. *befōn*, *onfōn*.
- fōna* V. *gudfōna*.
- foran* V. *biforan*.
- foranhēafud* sn. frons, dp. on *foranhēafudum* (= frontibus) 13. 17. V. *hēafud*.
- forceorfan* sv. praecidere, ind. pret. 2 sg. *forcurfe* (= praecidisti) 6. 28; pp. nsn. *forcorfen* (= praecisa) 3. 5. V. *āceorfan*.
- forçerran* wv. pervertere, pp. nsf. *forcerredu* (= perversa) 7. 8, 7. 39. V. *çerran*, *āçerran*.
- fore* prep. pro, propter, prae, (with acc.) *fore eorre* (= propter iram) &c. 7. 37, 7. 53, 13. 12, 13. 20; (with dat.) *fore me* (= pro me) &c. 3. 12, 4. 9, 6. 14.
- forebēcen* sn. prodigium, ap. donde *forebecen* (= faciens prodigia) 5. 19.
- foregān* av. praeire, ind. fut. 2 sg. *foregæst* (= praeibis) 9. 12. V. *gān*, *ingān*, *ūtgān*.
- forgefenis* sf. indulgentia, as. *forgefenisise* 13. 10.
- forgeofan* sv. ignoscere, donare, ind. pret. 2 sg. *forgefe* *forgefenisse* (= donasti indulgentiam) 13. 10; subj. pret. 2 sg. *forgefe* *gefe* (= donaris munera) 13. 21; imper. *forgefus* (= ignosce nobis) 13. 22; *forgef ondettendum* (= ignosce contentibus) 13. 23. V. *āgeofan*.

*forhtian* vv. formidare, expavescere, pavescere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *forhtiað* 13. 8; fut. 3 pl. *forhtiað* (= formidabunt) 4. 20; (= expavescunt) 6. 15; pret. 1 sg. *forhtade* (= expavi) 6. 2; 3 sg. *forhtade* 6. 31.

*forlēoran* vv. derelinquere, dimittere, ind. pret. 2 sg. *du forleorte* (= dereliquisti) 7. 35; 3 sg. *forleort* (= \*dereliquid) 7. 30; (= dimisit) 10. 9. V. *lēoran*.

*forlēosan* sv. perdere, pp. dsn. *forlorenu(m)* gedehte (= perduto consilio) 7. 56.

*forlētnis* sf. remissio, ds. in *forlētnisse synna* (= in remissione peccatorum) 9. 14.

*forlorenis* sf. perditio, gs. *forlorenisse* (= \*perditiones) 7. 68.

*forst* sm. pruina, np. *forstas* (= pruina) 8. 9.

*forswelgan* sv. devorare, ind. pret. 3 sg. *forswalg* (= devoravit) 5. 20.

*forðbringan* vv. praeferre, pres. part. nsf. *forðbringende* (= praeferens) 11. 1. V. *tōbringan*.

*fordon* conj. quando, quia, quoniam, (= quando) 7. 4; (= quia) 2. 3, 2. 10, 3. 19, 4. 3, 4. 7, 4. 19, 5. 34, 7. 39, 7. 44, 7. 60, 7. 61, 7. 68, 7. 69, 7. 78, 7. 80, 7. 87, 9. 1, 10. 2, 10. 4, 13. 23; (= quoniam) 2. 1, 2. 8, 2. 9, 6. 17, 6. 35, 7. 75; *fordon* diod *forlorenu(m)*

gedehhte is (= qui agens perduto consilio est) 7. 56.

*forðræstan* vv. conterere, ind. pret. 2 sg. *fordrestes* (= conteruisti) 5. 10; 3 sg. *fordreste* (= contrivit) 3. 8; pres. part. nsm. *forðræstende* (= conterens) 5. 4; *fordrestende* 13. 16.

*forðwegan* sv. provehere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *forðwegað* 11. 13.

*forðyppan* vv. prodire, ind. pres. 3 sg. *forðypeð* (= prodeat) 11. 14. V. *yppan*.

*forweorðan* sv. perire, subj. pret. 1 sg. *forwurde* (= perirem) 3. 18. V. *weorðan*.

*fōt* sm. pes, ns. *fot* 7. 68; np. *fæt* 6. 11; ap. *fæt* 4. 18, 6. 40, 9. 17.

*fremde* aj. alienus, nsm. *fremde* 7. 23; gsn. *fremdes cýnnes menn* (= alienigenae) 1. 8; dpm. in *fremðu(m)* (= in alienis) 7. 32.

*fremdung* V. *āfremdung*.

(ge)*frēon* vv. liberare, ind. pret. 2 sg. *gefreades* (= liberasti) 5. 22; 3 sg. *gefreade* (= liberavit) 9. 5; pp. nsm. *gefreade* 9. 10.

*frignan* sv. interrogare, imper. 2 sg. *frign* (= interroga) 7. 12.

*fræfran* vv. consolari, pres. part. nsm. \**frofrende eard* (= consolatus es) 2. 2; pp. nsm. *bið fræfred* (= consolabitur) 7. 70.

*from* prep. a, ab, (with dat.) *fro(m)* him (= ab eo) &c., 1. 10, 3. 5, 3. 6, 3. 8, 6. 5, 6.

21, 6. 32, 6. 37, 7. 31, 7. 38,  
7. 44, 7. 83, 7. 84, 9. 4, 9.  
5, 10. 5, 13. 18.  
*fruma* sm. primordium, ds. in  
*fruman* (= in primordio) 13. 2.  
*fugol* sm. avis, volucer, np. *fuglas*  
(= volucres) 8. 14; gp. *fugla*  
7. 48.  
*ful* aj. plenus, nsf. *ful* (= plena)  
6. 7.  
*fultum* sm. adjutor, ns. *fultum* 5.  
2.  
(ge)*fultuman* wv. adjuvare, adju-  
bare, subj. pres. 2 sg. ðæt ðu  
*gefultume* (= ut adjubes) 12.  
5; 3 pl. *gefultumen* (= adju-  
vent) 7. 74.  
*fulwiht* sm. baptismus, as. ðorh  
*fulwiht* (= per baptismum)  
13. 10.  
*fylgan* V. *efter-fylgan*.  
(ge)*fyllan* wv. consummare,  
replere, implere, satiare, satu-  
rare, ind. fut. 1 sg. *gefyllu*  
(= replebo) 5. 15; (= con-  
summabo) 7. 47; pret. 3 sg.  
*gefylde* (= implevit) 10. 8;  
pp. nsm. *gefylled* (= satiatus)  
7. 29; npm. *gefylde* (= re-  
pleti) 4. 9; npn. *gefylde* (= saturati) 4. 10.  
*fyr* sn. ignis, ns. *fyr* 7. 44, 8. 6.  
*fyrhtu* sf. pavor, ns. *fyrhtu* 12.  
13.  
(ge)*gadrian* wv. conjungere,  
subj. pret. 2 sg. *gegadrades*  
(= conjungeris) 13. 7.  
*galla* sm. fel, gs. *gallan* (= fel-  
lis) 7. 64.  
*gān* av. ire, ambulare, ind. fut.

3 sg. *gæð* (= ibit) 6. 10; 3  
pl. *gað* (= ibunt) 6. 23;  
pret. 3 pl. *eodun* (= ambula-  
verant) 5. 36. V. *foregān*,  
*ingān*, *ūtgān*.  
*gāst* sm. spiritus, ns. *gast* 10. 1;  
as. *gast* 5. 16, 8. 21, 12. 14;  
ðorh *gast* (= per spiritum) 5.  
12; gs. *gastes* 3. 16,<sup>1</sup> 11. 4, 11.  
11; ds. mid ðy halgan *gaste*  
(= cum Sancto Spiritu) 11.  
16, 13. 30; mid halgu(m) *gaste*  
(= cum Sancto Spiritu) 13.  
31; np. *gastas* 8. 6, 8. 18.  
*geard* V. *win-geard*, *middan-geard*.  
*gearu* aj. paratus, npn. ðas sind  
*gearu* (= haec sunt parata) 7. 69.  
(ge)*gearwian* wv. praeparare, pa-  
rare, ind. pret. 2 sg. *gegear-*  
*wades* (= praeparasti) 5. 31;  
3 pl. *gegearwadun* (= praepa-  
raverunt) 5. 32; inf. *gearwian*  
9. 13; pp. dsn. *gegearwadu(m)*  
(= praeparato) 5. 31; npm.  
earun *gegearwad* (= praepa-  
parantur) 4. 8.  
*geatan* V. *ongeatan*.  
*gefenis* V. *forgefenis*.  
*gefu* sf. gratia, munus, as. *gefe*  
11. 8; gs. *gefe* 11. 5; ds. *gefe*  
12. 2; ap. *gefe* 13. 21.  
*gegn* V. *ongegn*.  
*gehygd* V. *ingehygd*, *hygd*.  
*gelda* V. *borg-gelda*.  
*geldan* sv. reddere, ind. pres. 3  
sg. *gildeð* 7. 89; fut. 1 sg. ic  
*gildu* (= reddam) 7. 82; ic  
*geldu* 7. 67.  
*geofan* V. *āgeofan*, *forgeofan*.  
*geondfearan* sv. pertransire, ind.

- pres. 3 sg. *geondfered* (= pertranseat) 5. 29. V. *fearan*.  
*geotan* V. *bigeotan*.  
*gēotan* V. *ingēotan*.  
*getul* V. *ofergeotul*.  
*gēr* sn. annus, np. *ger* 6. 3; ap. all *ger* (= omnes annos) 3. 14; *ger* 7. 12; gp. *lafe gera* (= residuum annorum) 3. 2.  
*gerwan* wv. vestire, pres. part. nsm. *gerwende* 12. 1. V. *on-gerwan*.  
*gēt* V. *nū-gēt*.  
*get* sn. porta, ds. to *gete* (= ad portas) 3. 1.  
*gīf* conj. si, 3. 15.  
*glidder* aj. lubricus, asf. *glidder* (= lubricam) 11. 6; dsf. *gehygde glidderre* (= sensu lubrico) 12. 12.  
*god* sm. deus, ns. *god* 2. 2, 4. 5, 4. 7, 5. 3 (twice), 6. 5, 7. 6, 7. 23, 7. 56, 7. 60, 7. 61, 7. 75, 9. 1; vs. *god* 6. 39, 7. 5, 12. 1; as. *god* 3. 3, 7. 30, 7. 35, 7. 36; gs. *godes* 7. 15, 7. 86, 7. 87, 9. 15; ds. *gode* (= Deo) 6. 39, 7. 5, 7. 31, 7. 33, 7. 41, 10. 2, 13. 7; in *gode* mine (= in Deo meo) 4. 2; np. *godas* 7. 61, 7. 72; ap. *godas* 7. 33; dp. in *godu(m)* (= in diis) 5. 18.  
*gōd* aj. bonus, nsm. *god* 13. 26; npm. *gode* 1. 7; dpn. *godum* (= bonis) 10. 8.  
*goldhord* sn. thesaurum, dp. in *goldhordum* (= in thesauris) 7. 66.  
*Gomorra* place n. Gomorra, ds. of *Gomorra* (= ex Gomorra) 7. 63.  
*\*gre* sf. virtus, ds. in *gre* (= in virtute) 5. 22.  
*grēd* s. gramen, as. ofer *gred* (= super gramen) 7. 4.  
*(ge)grīpan* sv. adpræhendere, ind. pret. 3 sg. *gegrap* (= adpræhendit) 5. 25.  
*grund* sm. profundum, ns. *\*grund* biluced ðeg dimnes (= profunda clausurit diem caligo) 12. 8; as. in *grund* (= in profundum) 5. 8.  
*gung* aj. juvenis, adolescens, apm. *gunge* 7. 51; (compar.) nsm. *\*jugra* (= adolescentior) 1. 1.  
*gūdfōna* sm. vexillum, as. *gudfonan* 13. 17.  
*gyrdan* V. *bigyrdan*.  
*habban*. av. habere, ind. pret. 3 sg. *hefde* (= habebat) 4. 11; imper. 2 pl. *habbað* (= habete) 7. 11.  
*(ge)hælan* wv. sanare, curare, ind. fut. 1 sg. ic *gehælu* (= sanabo) 7. 77; subj. pres. 2 sg. ðæt *hæle* (= ut cures) 13. 29.  
*hælend* sm. Salvator, Ihesus, ns. *helend* 2. 3; gs. *hælendes* 2. 6; ds. in *gode hælende* (= in Deo Ihesu) 6. 39.  
*hælendlic* V. *ungehælendlic*.  
*hælu* sf. sanitas, salus, salutas, ns. *hælu* 6. 18; as. in *hælu* (= in salutem) 2. 5, 5. 3, 6. 26; gs. *hælu* 9. 2, 9. 13. 13;

- ds. in *hælu* (= in salutari) 4. 3.
- hætu* sf. calor, caumas, ns. *hætu* 8. 8; gs. *hætu* 7. 18; ds. mid *hætu* (= calore) 11. 9.
- hāl* aj. salvus, apm. *hale* us doa (= salvos nos fac) 3. 23; *hale* 6. 26.
- haldan* sv. servare, custodire, ind. pret. 3 sg. *heold* (= servabit) 4. 18; (= custodivit) 6. 31, 7. 19. V. *bihaldan*.
- hālig* aj. sanctus, (strong) nsm. *halig* 2. 11, 4. 4, 6. 6, 7. 7, 10. 5; (weak) vsm. *đu halga* (= sanctae) 13. 28; asm. *done halgan* gast (= Sanctum Spiritum) 8. 21; (strong) gsm. *halges* gastes (= Sancti Spiritus) 11. 4; gsf. *gemunan cyðnisse his haligre* (= memorare testamenti sui sancti) 9. 7; dsm. mid *halgu(m)* gaste 13. 31; (weak) mid *ðy halgan* gaste (= cum Sancto Spiritu) 11. 16, 13. 30; dsf. *ðere halgan* 5. 23; (strong) npm. *halge* (= sancti) 8. 19; gpm. *haligra* (= sanctorum) 4. 18, 9. 4; dpm. in *halgu(m)* (= in sanctis) 5. 19.
- hālignis* sf. sanctimonium, sanctitas, as. *halignisse* 5. 32; ds. in *halignisse* (= in sanctitate) 9. 10.
- halm* sm. stipula, as. *halm*. 5. 12.
- hālsian* vv. quiescere, ind. pres. 1 pl. we *halsiað* (= quiescimus) 13. 29.
- hālwynde* aj. salutaris, dsm. in gode *hālwyndum* (= in Deo salutari) 10. 2; (weak) from gode *ðam hālwyndan* (= a Deo salutari) 7. 31.
- (ge)*hātsn*. votum, dp. *gehatu(m)* 12. 5.
- hātheortnis* sf. furor, zelum, ns. *hatheortnis* 2. 2, 6. 16, 7. 64, 7. 65; ds. in *\*hatheortnis* (= in furore) 6. 25; in *hatheortnisse* (= in zelo) 7. 40, 7. 42; mid *hatheortnisse* (= cum furore) 7. 49.
- hē* pers. pron., ns. *ðaet he sitte* (= ut sedeat) &c., 4. 15, 7. 88, 9. 8; *he* (= ipse) 1. 4 (twice), 1. 5, 3. 21, 7. 88; as. *hine* (= eum) 5. 3, 5. 4, 7. 17, 7. 19 (three times), 7. 31, 7. 86, 7. 87, 7. 89, 8. 22, 10. 6; (= illum) 13. 18; (= se) 9. 8; mid *hine* (= cum eo) 7. 85; poss. *his* (= ejus) 1. 11, 2. 7, 2. 8 (twice), 4. 20, 5. 6, 6. 7 (twice), 6. 8, 6. 9 (twice), 6. 10, 6. 11, 6. 14, 7. 6 (twice), 7. 16, 7. 17, 7. 87, 7. 88, 9. 13 (twice), 10. 5 (twice), 10. 11; (= ipsius) 6. 41; *his* agnum sweorde (= ipsius gladio) 1. 10; (= suum) 1. 5, 7. 20, 7. 70, 10. 9; (= suam) 6. 21; (= sui) 4. 22, 7. 90, 9. 3, 9. 7, 10. 7; (= suae) 1. 7, 6. 10, 6. 22, 9. 2, 10. 3, 10. 10; (= suo) 4. 22, 6. 23, 7. 31, 10. 6; (= sua) 4. 19; (= suos) 7. 21; (= suas) 7. 21, 7. 22; (= suorum) 4. 18, 7. 37, 9. 4; (= suis) 6. 21, 7. 70; ds. *him* (= ei) 5. 5, 7. 8; (= illi) 9. 10; (= ipsi)



4. 7; (= eo) 1. 10, 7. 7; (= ipso) 9. 11; (= sibi) 7. 17; np. *hiene* cudun (= non noverunt, &c.) 7. 33, 7. 54; *hie* (= ipsi) 7. 40; ap. *hie* (= eos) 4. 17, 5. 7, 5. 11, 5. 16, 5. 20, 5. 26, 5. 27, 5. 30, 5. 35, 7. 21, 7. 22 (twice), 7. 23, 7. 24, 7. 43, 7. 44, 7. 50, 7. 52, 7. 60, 7. 71; (= illos) 7. 60; *ða hie* (= quos) 7. 33; \**he* (= se) 4. 10; *he(a)ra* (= eorum) 7. 35, 7. 46, 7. 53, 7. 63 (twice), 7. 65, 7. 68, 7. 69, 7. 74; (= illorum) 7. 61, 7. 72; (= sua) 6. 29; (= suis) 1. 9, 7. 32, 7. 42; dp. *him* (= eis) 1. 8, 7. 23, 7. 38, 7. 39, 7. 47, 7. 49, 7. 57; (= illis) 7. 67; (= ip-sis) 4. 20, 7. 40, 7. 46, 7. 73.
- hēafud* sn. caput, as. *hēafud* 1. 10; ds. from *hēafde* (= a \*capita) 7. 84; ap. *hēafud* 6. 28; in *hēafudu* (= in capita) 6. 27. V. *foranhēafud*.
- (ge)*hēan* vv. sublimare, ind. pres. 3 sg. *geheð* (= sublimat) 4. 14; fut. 3 sg. *geheð* (= sublimabit) 4. 22.
- hēanis* sf. altitudo, excelsum, altum, ds. in *heanis* (= in excelso) 3. 12; from *heanisse* (= ab altitudine) 6. 22; of *heanisse* (= ex alto) 9. 15.
- heardian* vv. gelare, ind. pret. 3 pl. *heardadun* (= gelaverunt) 5. 13; *heardadon* 5. 13.
- hearpe* sf. psalterium, as. *fingras wyrctun hearpan* (= digiti aptaverunt psalterium) 1. 3.
- hebban* V. *āhebban*, *ūphebban*.
- hefeldian* vv. ordiri, pp. nsn. *gehefeldad* (= ordirer) 3. 7.
- heftnēd* sm. captivitas, ds. *heftnede* (= captivitate) 7. 84. V. *nēd*.
- hæg* sn. faenum, as. ofer *heg* (= super faenum) 7. 4.
- hēh* aj. excelsus, altus, sublimis, (strong) nsm. *hēh* 2. 8; (weak) se *hea* (= excelsus) 7. 14; npf. *hea* (= excelsa) 7. 55; npn. *ða hean* (= alta) 12. 12; apn. *ða hean* (= sublimia) 4. 6; (= excelsa) 6. 41; (super.) gsm. *des bestan* (= altissimi) 9. 11.
- hell* sf. inferus, infernus, ns. *hel* 3. 19; gs. to *gete helle* (= ad portas inferi) 3. 2.
- helwearan* smpl. inferi, ap. oð *helwearan* (= usque ad inferos) 7. 45; dp. to *helwearum* (= ad inferos) 4. 13, 13. 20.
- heofen* sm. caelum, polum, ns. *heofen* 7. 1; as. in *heofen* (= in caelum) 7. 78; gs. *heofenes* (= caeli) 8. 5, 8. 14, 8. 23; (= poli) 12. 1; np. *heofenas* 7. 85, 8. 1; ap. *heofenas* 6. 7, 8. 3; dp. in *heofenum* (= in caelis) 4. 21.
- heorde* sm. pastor, gp. *heorda* (= pastorum) 3. 5.
- heorr* sm. cardo, np. *heorras* (= cardinis) 4. 17.
- heorte* sf. cor, ns. *heorte* 4. 1; gs. *heortan* (= cordis) 10. 7, 12. 6, 12. 12; ds. on *heortan* (= corde) 8. 19.
- heortnis* V. *mildheortnis*.
- (ge)*hēran* vv. audire, exaudire, ind. pret. 1 sg. *geberde* (= au-

- divi) 6. 1; 3 sg. *geherde* (= exaudivit) 1. 4; 3 pl. *geherdun* (= audierunt) 5. 23; subj. pres. 3 sg. *gehere* (= audiat) 7. 1.
- herenis* sf. laudatio, ns. *herenis* 2. 4.
- here-rēaf* sn. spolia, as. *herereaf* 5. 14.
- herg* sm. simulacrum, dp. in *hergu(m)* (= in simulacris) 1. 9.
- hergendlic* aj. laudabilis, nsm. *hergendlic* 8. 23.
- herian* wv. laudare, ind. fut. 3 sg. *hered* (= laudabit) 3. 20; subj. pres. 1 pl. *hergen* we (= laudaemus) 8. 21; imper. 2 sg. *here* (= lauda) 2. 10.
- (ge)*hērnis* sf. auditus, as. *geher-nisse* 6. 1.
- hiow* sn. forma, as. *hiow* 13. 5. V. *scīn-hiow*.
- (ge)*hiowian* wv. informare, plas-mare, ind. fut. 3 sg. *gehiowad* (= informat) 11. 6; pret. 2 sg. \**gehiowadas* (= plas-masti) 13. 3; *gehiowades* (= plasmaveras) 13. 7.
- hirtan* wv. fovere, imper. 2 sg. *hirt* (= fove) 12. 15.
- hlāf* sm. panis, dp. fore *hlafu(m)* (= pro panibus) 4. 9.
- hleadan* wv. aurire, ind. pres. 2 pl. *gehleadað* weter (= \*au-rietis aquas) 2. 5.
- hlēodrian* wv. tonare, concin-nare, ind. pres. 3 pl. *hleodriad* (= \*concinat) 12. 7; fut. 3 sg. *hleodrað* (= tonabit) 4. 21.
- hlydan* wv. concrepare, ind. pres. 3 sg. *hlydeð* (= concre-pet) 12. 7.
- hoga* V. *oferhoga*.
- hogian* wv. sapere, ind. pret. 3 pl. *hokedon* (= sapuerunt) 7. 57.
- hold* aj. devotus, dsn. *holde* mode (= devota mente) 13. 9.
- hond* sf. manus, ns. sie swidre \**honda* (= dextera manus) 5. 9; *hond* 5. 16, 7. 81; as. *hond* 7. 78; ds. of *honda* (= de manu) 9. 5; np. *honda* 1. 2, 5. 32, 7. 55; dp. in *bondum* (= in manibus) 6. 8; of *hon-dum* (= de manibus) 7. 77, 9. 9.
- hord* V. *goldhord*.
- hordern* sn. prumptuarium, ap. in \**hondernu(m)* (= in prump-tuariis) 7. 51.
- horn* sm. cornu, ns. *horn* 4. 1; as. *horn* 4. 22, 9. 2; np. *hor-nas* (= cornua) 6. 8.
- hors* sn. equus, aequus, as. *hors* 5. 1; ap. *hors* 6. 30; ofer *hors* (= super equos) 6. 18.
- hungor* sm. famis, ds. *hungre* (= fame) 7. 47.
- hunig* sn. mel, as. *hunig* 7. 25.
- hūs* sn. domus, ds. in *huse* (= in domo) 1. 1, 3. 24, 9. 2.
- hwæl* sm. caetus, np. *hwalas* 8. 13.
- hwāte* sm. triticum, gs. *hwaetes* (= tritici) 7. 27.
- hwelc* interrog. pron. quis, ns. *hwelc* 1. 3, 5. 17, 5. 18.
- hwēr* interrog. adv. ubi, 7. 72.
- hwet* relat. pron. quid, 3. 13 (twice), 7. 38.
- hwyrft* V. *ymbhwyrft*.

(ge)hygd sf. sensus, ds. *gehygde* (=sensu) 12. 12; dp. *gehygdum* (=sensibus) 11. 4. V. *ingebygd*.

*hyll* sm. collis, np. *hyllas* 6. 13, 8. 11.

*hymen* sm. hymnus, as. \**humen* 12. 6; \**hymen* 13. 22.

*hyngrian* wv. esurire, pres. part. apm. *hyngrende* (= esurientes) 10. 8.

*hýran* V. *bihýran*.

*Iacob* p. n. Iacob, ns. *Iacob*. 7. 28.

*ic* pers. pron., ns. *ic* wes (=eram), *ic* fœdde (= pascebam) &c., 1. 1, 1. 2, 1. 8, 1. 10, 2. 1, 2. 3, 3. 1, 3. 2 (twice) 3. 3, 3. 10, 3. 11, 3. 12, 3. 13, 3. 14, 3. 18, 4. 3, 5. 4, 5. 14, 5. 15, 6. 1 (twice), 6. 2, 6. 34, 6. 41, 7. 5, 7. 38, 7. 46, 7. 52, 7. 67, 7. 78, 7. 80, 7. 82; *ic* (= ego) 1. 9, 3. 1, 3. 22, 6. 38, 7. 42, 7. 75, 7. 76, 7. 77, 7. 79; *ic* seolfa (= ipse) 3. 14; as. *mec* 1. 5 (twice), 1. 6, 1. 9, 3. 7, 3. 8, 3. 10, 3. 16 (twice), 6. 41, 7. 32, 7. 33, 7. 41, 7. 42, 7. 66, 7. 82; \**frofrende eard mec* (= consolatus es mihi) 2. 2; *mic* 10. 3; poss. nsm. *min* 2. 3, 4. 2 (twice), 5. 3, 10. 1; nsf. *min* 2. 4 (twice), 3. 4, 3. 17, 4. 1, 5. 16, 6. 4, 6. 31, 7. 81, 10. 1; nsn. *min* 3. 6, 6. 33, 6. 40, 7. 2, 7. 83; asf. *mine* 3. 18, 5. 15, 7. 38, 7. 78, 7. 79; asn. *min* 7. 80; gsm.

*mines* 1. 2 (twice), 1. 6, 3. 16, 5. 4; gsf. *minre* 3. 15, 6. 34, 6. 35; dsm. *minu(m)* 1. 4, 6. 39, 7. 2; \**minnu(m)* 10. 2; dsn. *minum* 5. 15, 7. 44; instr. *mine* 4. 2; npm. *mine* 1. 3, 1. 7; npf. *mine* 1. 2; npn. *min* 3. 11, 7. 3; apm. *mine* 1. 1, 4. 3, 6. 40, 7. 47, 7. 82; apf. *mine* 3. 19; apn. *min* 3. 9, 3. 14, 6. 33; gpm. *minra* 3. 1, 6. 32; gpf. \**minra* (= eorum) 9. 14; gpn. *minra* 3. 2; dpf. *minu(m)* 7. 78; dpn. *minu(m)* 7. 67; ds. *me* (= mihi) 2. 1, 2. 5, 3. 13, 5. 3, 10. 4; (= me) 3. 5, 3. 13, 6. 33, 7. 76; np. *we* singað (= cantabimus) &c. 3. 24, 5. 1, 8. 20, 8. 21, 8. 22, 9. 10, 11. 4, 11. 11, 12. 6, 12. 14, 13. 9, 13. 17, 13. 22, 13. 29; *we* (= qui) 13. 10; ap. *usic* 9. 5, 9. 6, 9. 15, 13. 7, 13. 9, 13. 16; *us* 3. 23, 13. 20; poss. nsm. *ur* 4. 5, 7. 61, 11. 10; gsm. *ures* 9. 15; gsf. *ure* 13. 13; (= \**nostra*) 13. 24; gsn. *ures* 3. 24; dsm. *urum* 7. 5, 9. 8; npm. *ure* 7. 62; npf. *ure* 7. 55; apm. *ure* 3. 24, 9. 17; apf. *ure* 13. 29; gpm. *ura* 9. 9; gpn. *ura* 13. 25; dpm. *uru(m)* 9. 5, 9. 7, 9. 11, 10. 11; dpf. *urum* 11. 4; dp. *us* (= nobis) 9. 2, 9. 8, 11. 10, 13. 10, 13. 18, 13. 22. *idel-hēnde* aj. inanis, apm. *idel-hēnde* 10. 9.

*ilca* V. *ylc*.

*in* prep. in, (with acc.) *in* hælu

(= in salutem) &c. 2. 5, 3. 21, 5. 2, 5. 3, 5. 6, 5. 8, 5. 30, 5. 33 (twice), 5. 35, 6. 17, 6. 26, 6. 27, 6. 30, 6. 33, 7. 18, 7. 43 (twice), 7. 67, 7. 78, 7. 79, 8. 22, 8. 23, 9. 17, 10. 6, 10. 11; (with dat.) *in huse* (= in domo) &c. 1. 1, 1. 6, 1. 8, 1. 9, 2. 5, 2. 6, 2. 7, 2. 9, 2. 10, 3. 1, 3. 3, 3. 12, 3. 14, 3. 15, 3. 17, 3. 24, 4. 1, 4. 2, 4. 3, 4. 18, 4. 19, 4. 20, 5. 7, 5. 9, 5. 13, 5. 17, 5. 18, 5. 19 (twice), 5. 22 (twice), 6. 2, 6. 5, 6. 8, 6. 11, 6. 15, 6. 16, 6. 21, 6. 23 (three times), 6. 24, 6. 25, 6. 28, 6. 30, 6. 34, 6. 36, 6. 38 (twice), 6. 39, 6. 40, 6. 41, 7. 7, 7. 11, 7. 18, 7. 23, 7. 32 (twice), 7. 40 (three times), 7. 41 (twice), 7. 42 (twice), 7. 46, 7. 47, 7. 49, 7. 51, 7. 57, 7. 58, 7. 66, 7. 67, 7. 70, 7. 71, 7. 72, 7. 73, 7. 83, 8. 14, 8. 22, 9. 2, 9. 10, 9. 14, 9. 15, 9. 16, 10. 2, 10. 6, 11. 3, 11. 14 (twice), 11. 16, 13. 2, 13. 31; (with instr.) *in ðon* (= in eo) 6. 4; (= in ea) 6. 29.

*indrenčan* wv. inebriare, ind. fut. 1 sg. *indrencu* (= inebriabo) 7. 82.

*ineardiend* sm. inhabitant, np. *ineardiende* 5. 26; ap. *ineardiende* 5. 24. V. *eardiend*.

*ingān*. av. introire, ind. pret. 3 sg. *ineode* (= introivit) 5. 34, 6. 32. V. *gān*, *foregān*, *ūtgān*.

*ingebygd* sf. conscientia, gs. *ingebygde* (= \*conscientia) 13. 24; ds. mid *ingebygde* (= conscientia) 13. 11. V. *hygd*.

*ingēotan* sv. infundere, imper. 2 sg. *ingeot* (= infunde) 11. 4.

*in(ge)lādan* wv. inducere, ind. fut. 2 sg. *ingelædes* (= induces) 5. 30. V. *lādan*, *ālādan*, *tōlādan*, *wiðlādan*, *ymbelādan*.

*inlihtan* wv. inluminare, infin. *inlihtan* 9. 16; pres. part. nsm. *inlihtende* (= inluminans) 11. 2. V. *lihtan*.

*innod* sm. viscus, ap. ðorh *innodas* (= per viscera) 9. 14.

*insendan* wv. immittere, ind. fut. 1 sg. *insendu* (= inmittam) 7. 49. V. *sendan*.

*Israēl* p. n. Israhel, ns. *Isra(el)* 2. 11, 8. 16; gs. *Isra(el)* (= Israhel) 9. 1; gp. *Israela* (= Israhel) 1. 11.

*itan* sv. manducare, comedere, edere, ind. fut. 3 sg. *ited* (= manducabit) 7. 83; pret. 3 sg. *et* (= comedit) 5. 11, 7. 45; (= manducavit) 7. 28; 2 pl. ge *eton* (= edebatis) 7. 73; pres. part. nsm. *eotende* (= edens) 6. 30.

*lādtow* sm. dux, np. *lādtowas* 5. 25.

*(ge)lādan* wv. ducere, deducere, inducere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *gelæded* (= deducit) 4. 12; pret. 3 sg. *gelædde* (= induxit) 5. 35; *lædde* (= duxit) 7. 19. V. *ālādan*, *inlādan*, *tōlādan*, *wiðlādan*, *ymbelādan*.

- lædnis* V. *wiðlædnis*.  
 (ge)*læran* wv. docere, erudire,  
 ind. pret. 3 sg. *gelærde* 7. 19;  
*lærde* (= docebat) 7. 22.  
*læs* adv., *ðy læs* (= ne) 7. 54.  
*lāf* sf. residuum, as. *lase* gera  
 (= residuum annorum) 3. 2.  
*lēa* sm. leo, ns. *lea* 3. 8.  
*lēad* sn. plumbum, ns. *lead* 5.  
 17.  
 (ge)*lēafa* sm. fides, ns. se rehta  
*geleafa* (= fides) 11. 9, 11.  
 12, 12. 9; *geleafa* (= fides) 7.  
 40, 11. 10, 12. 11; gs. \**ge-*  
*lean* 13. 17.  
*lēce* sm. medicus, ns. *lece* 13. 26.  
 (ge)*lēfan* wv. credere, ind. pres.  
 1 pl. we *gelefað* (= credi-  
 mus) 13. 9.  
*lēgan* sv. mentiri, ind. fut. 3 pl.  
*legað* (= mentientur) 6. 36.  
*lēgitu* sf. fulgur, as. *legitu* 7. 80;  
 gs. *legite* (= fulgoris) 6. 24;  
 np. *legite* 8. 10.  
*leht* sn. lumen, lux, ns. *leht* 6. 8,  
 8. 8, vs. *leht* 11. 2; as. *leht*  
 11. 1; gs. *lehtes* (= lucis, lu-  
 minis) 11. 2; ds. *lehte* (= lu-  
 mine) 12. 2; in *lehte* (= in  
 lumine) 6. 23; of *lehte* (= de  
 luce 11. 1.  
*lēoran* wv. transire, ind. pres.  
 3 sg. *leoreð* (= transeat) 5.  
 28; subj. pres. 3 sg. *leore* (=   
 transeat) 11. 12. V. *forlēoran*.  
*lēornis* sf. transmigratio, gs.  
*leornisse* 6. 35.  
*lēosan* V. *forlēosan*.  
*lēsan* V. *ālēsan*, *onlēsan*, *tōlēsan*.  
*lēsnis* V. *ālēsnis*.
- lētan* sv. sinere, imper. 2 sg. ne  
*let* ðu (= ne sinas) 12. 10.  
*lētnis* V. *forlētnis*.  
*Libano* place n. Libanus, ds. from  
*Libano* (= a Libano) 6. 5.  
 (ge)*lic* aj. similis, nsm. *gelic* ðe  
 (= similis tibi) 5. 18 (twice);  
 asm. *gelicne* 13. 4.  
*lichōma* sm. corpus, gs. *lichoman*  
 13. 5; ds. *lichoman* (= cor-  
 pore) 11. 8.  
*lician* V. *welgelician*.  
*licnis* V. *onlicnis*.  
*lif* sn. vita, ns. *lif* 3. 6, 3. 16;  
 gs. *lifes* 3. 24, 13. 21.  
 (ge)*liffestan* wv. vivificare, ind.  
 pres. 3 sg. *geliffested* (= vivi-  
 ficat) 4. 12; fut. 2 sg. *gelif-*  
*festes* (= vivificabis) 3. 16.  
*lifgan* wv. vivere, ind. pres. 1 sg.  
*ic lifgu* (= vivo) 7. 79; infin.  
*lifgan* 7. 76; pres. part. nsm.  
*lifgende* (= vivens) 3. 21  
 (twice); gpm. *lifgendra* (= vi-  
 ventium) 3. 3; pp. nsn. *bið*  
*lifd* (= vivitur) 3. 15.  
*lihtan* wv. lucere, ind. pres. 3 sg.  
*lihted* (= luceat) 12. 10. V.  
*inlihtan*.  
 (ge)*lihtan* wv. allevare, subj.  
 pres. 3 sg. *gelihthe* (= allevet)  
 12. 3.  
*lim* sn. artus, ap. *liomu* 12. 2.  
*liof* aj. dilectus, (weak) nsm.  
 se *liofa* (= dilectus) 7. 29.  
*lioma* sm. jubar, vs. (?) *lioma* (=   
 jubar) 11. 3.  
 (ge)*lōcian* wv. aspicere, respi-  
 cere, ind. fut. 1 sg. ne *gelociu* ic  
 (= non aspiciam) 3. 3; pret.  
 3 sg. *gelocade* (= aspexit) 6.

- 12; *gelocade* (= respexit) 10.  
 2; pres. part. npn. *gelocende*  
 (= aspicientes) 3. 12.  
*lof* sf. laus, ds. *lofe* (= laudi) 6.  
 7.  
*lomb* sn. agnus, gp. \**lobra* (= agnorum) 7. 26.  
*lond* sn. ager, gp. *londa* (= agrorum) 7. 24.  
*long* aj. longus, instr. *longe* tid (= longo tempore) 7. 54.  
*lorenis* V. *forlorenis*.  
*lucan* V. *bilucan*.  
*lufian* wv. diligere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *dec lufað* (= te diligat) 12. 7.  
*lufu* sf. amor, ns. *lufe* 12. 8.  
*lutian* wv. latere, pres. part. gpf. *lutiendra* (= latentium) 13. 26.  
*lytel* aj. pusillus, nsm. *lytel* 1. 1.  
  
*mæ* adv. ultra, 3. 4.  
*mægan* av. posse, ind. pres. 3 sg. *meg* (= potest) 13. 24; subj. pres. 3 sg. *mege* (= possit) 13. 19.  
*mæht* sf. potentia, as. *mæhte* 10. 6.  
*mæhtig* aj. potens, nsm. *mæhtig* 10. 4, 12. 14; gsf. *mæhtigre* 11. 5; apm. *mæhtige* 10. 7; gpm. *mæhtigra* 6. 28.  
*(ge)mænnis* sf. contubernium, as. *gemænnisse* 13. 8.  
*margen* sm. mane, as. oð *margen* (= usque ad mane) 3. 8; ds. of *marne* (= de mane) 3. 7, 3. 9. V. *ær-margen*.  
*margen-tid* sf. matutinus tempus, as. on *margen-tid* (= matutino tempore) 13. 21.  
*megen* sn. virtus, vis, ns. *megen* 6. 9, 6. 33; vs. *megen* 6. 40; ds. in *megne* (= in virtute) 5. 9; np. *megen* 8. 4; ap. *megen* 13. 16.  
*megen-ðrymm* sm. majestas, ns. *megen-ðrym* 6. 7; gs. *megen-ðrymmes* (= majestatis) 5. 10; dp. *megen-ðrymmum* 5. 19. V. *cyne-ðrymm*.  
*mēnen* sn. ancilla, gs. *menenes* 10. 3.  
*mengu* sf. multitudo, as. *mengu* 5. 10.  
*mēnnisc* aj. humanus, gsn. *mēnnesces* 13. 5.  
*(ge)meodemian* wv. dignari, pp. nsm. \**gemeode* ðu were, *gemeodemad* were (= dignatus es) 13. 6, 13. 12; were *gemeodemad* (= dignaveris) 13. 18; *gemeodemad* ðu were (= dignatus es) 13. 20.  
*(ge)met* sn., ds. to ðæm *gemete* (= quemadmodum) 7. 14.  
*mēte* sm. esca, cibus, ns. *mete* 7. 48, 11. 10; ds. from *mete* 6. 37; ap. *mettas* 6. 37.  
*(ge)metgian* wv. temperare, subj. pres. 3 sg. *gemetgie* 12. 11.  
*micel* aj. magnus, multus, nsm. *micel* 2. 10; npm. *micle* 1. 7; apn. *micelu* 6. 31; (weak) ða *miclan* (= magna) 10. 4.  
*micellice* av. magnifice, 2. 9.  
*micelnis* sf. magnitudo, as. *micel-nisse* 7. 5; gs. *micelnisse* 5. 27.  
*miclian* wv. magnificare, ind. pres. 3 sg. *miclað* 10. 1.  
*mid* prep. cum, apud, (with acc.)

- mid* mec (= apud me) 7. 66;  
*mid* hine (= cum eo) 7. 85;  
 (with dat.) *mid* aldermonnum  
 (= cum principibus) &c. 4.  
 16, 5. 34, 7. 23, 7. 26, 7.  
 27, 7. 49, 7. 51, 7. 52, 7.  
 86, 9. 6, 11. 15, 13. 2, 13.  
 29, 13. 30, 13. 31; *mid*  
 \*rehtwinisse (= justitia) &c.  
 5. 21, 6. 19, 11. 3, 11. 9,  
 12. 1, 13. 11 (twice), 13.  
 19; *mid* ðere (= qui) 13. 16.  
*midd* aj. medius, asm. ðorh  
*midne* se (= per medium mare)  
 5. 37; *midne* deg 11. 13; dsm.  
 in *midu(m)* (= in medio) 2.  
 11, 3. 1; dsf. in *midre* sæ  
 (= in medio mare) 5. 13.  
*middangeard* sm. mundus, gs.  
*middangeardes* 13. 2. V. *win-*  
*geard*.  
*middel* sn. medium, ds. in *midle*  
 (= in medio) 6. 2.  
*milc* sf. lac, as. *milc* 7. 26.  
*mildbeortnis* sf. misericordia, ns.  
*mildbeortnis* 10. 5; as. *mild-*  
*beortnisse* 9. 6; gs. *mildbeort-*  
*nisse* 6. 5, 9. 14, 10. 10; ds.  
*mildheartnisse* 1. 6.  
*mit-te* conj. dum, cum, 3. 6,  
 12. 8.  
*Mōab* p. n. Mohabite, gp.  
*Moab* (= Mohabitarum) 5.  
 25.  
*mōd* sn. mens, ns. *mod* 11. 13,  
 12. 8; as. *mod* 11. 8, 12. 10;  
 ds. in *mode* 7. 11; on *mode*  
 (= mente) 10. 7; *mode* 13.  
 9; ap. *mod* 12. 3.  
 (ge)*mæting* sf. adinventio, ap.  
*gemætinge* 2. 7.
- mōna* sm. luna, ns. *mona* 6. 22,  
 8. 4.  
*mōnig* indef. aj. multus, pluri-  
 mus, apm. *monge* (= multos)  
 13. 14; apn. *monge* (= plu-  
 rimos) 4. 11; (= multos) 4.  
 11.  
 (ge)*mōnigfaldian* wv. multipli-  
 care, infin. *gemonigfaldian* 4.  
 5.  
*mōnn* sm. homo, as. *mon* 3. 3,  
 13. 3, 13. 6; ap. ongegñ  
 fremdes cynnes *men(n)* (= ob-  
 viam alienigenae) 1. 8; fore  
*men* (= propter hominem)  
 13. 12; gp. *monna* 8. 16; dp.  
 of *monnum* 7. 53. V. *aldor-*  
*mōnn*.  
 (ge)*munan* wv. meminisse, me-  
 morare, imper. 2 pl. *gemunad*  
 (= mementote) 2. 8; infin.  
*gemunan* (= memorare) 9.  
 7.  
*munt* sm. mons. as. *munt* 5.  
 30; ds. of *munte* (= de monte)  
 6. 6; np. *muntas* 6. 13, 8.  
 11; gp. *munta* 7. 46.  
*mūd* sm. os, ns. *muð* 4. 2; as.  
*muð* 9. 3; ds. of *muðe* (= de  
 ore) 4. 6; (= ex ore) 7. 1;  
 ap. *muðas* 6. 29.  
 (ge)*mynd* sf. memoria, as. *ge-*  
*mynd* 7. 53.  
 (ge)*myndig* aj. memor, nsm.  
*gemyndig* 6. 5; (= recordatus)  
 10. 10.  
*næht* sf. nox, ns. *næht* 8. 7, 12.  
 10; as. *næht* 12. 2; gs. *næhte*  
 12. 5; gp. *næhta* 12. 9.  
*nānig* pron. nemo, 13. 24.

- nāles* adv. non, 3. 19, 4. 19, 7. 8, 7. 9, 7. 33, 7. 41, 7. 43, 7. 56.
- ne* adv. non, neque, (= non) 1. 7, 2. 3, 3. 2, 3. 3, 3. 18, 3. 20, 6. 36, 6. 37, 6. 38, 7. 18, 7. 23, 7. 34, 7. 57; (= neque) 3. 20, 4. 4; (= ne) 12. 10, 13. 19; ðæt hie *ne* gedeafien (= ne consentiant) 7. 55.
- nēasian* wv. visitare, ind. pret. 3 sg. *neasede* 9. 1; *neasade* 9. 15.
- nēd* sf. vis, as. *ned* 3. 12. V. *heftnēd*.
- nēdre* sf. aspis, gp. *nedrena* 7. 65.
- nēdan* wv. compellere, ind. pret. 3 pl. *neddun* 7. 41.
- nēh* aj. prope, nsm. *nēh* 7. 68; (super.) ds. ot *nestan* (= in novissimo) 7. 39.
- nemðe* conj. nisi, 7. 60, *nybðe* 7. 53.
- nēolācan* V. *tōnēolācan*.
- nēowest* smf. comminatio, ds. in *neoweste* 6. 24.
- (ge)*nērian* wv. eruere, eripere, ind. pret. 2 sg. *generedes* (= eruiisti) 3. 17; subj. pres. 3 sg. *generge* (= \*eripiaat) 7. 77.
- nērgan* wv., pp. apm. *generwde* (= anxios) 12. 4.
- nest* sn. nidus, as. *nest* 7. 20.
- nēten* sn. pecus, animal, np. *netenu* (= pecora) 8. 15; gp. *netna* 6. 2.
- niman* sv. ferre, tenere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *nimeð* (= teneat) 4. 16; pret. 3 sg. *nom* (= tulit) 1. 5.
- nīolnis* sf. abyssus, ns. *nīolnis* 6. 21.
- (ge)*nīoman* sv. adsumere, infin. *genioman* 13. 5; pp. npm. earun *numene* (= tenebamur) 13. 10.
- nīowinga* adv. novi recentes, 7. 34.
- nis* V. *bēon*.
- nīðerlic* aj. imus; (weak) npn. ða *nīðerlican* 12. 6.
- nō* adv. non, 6. 35.
- nōma* sm. nomen, ns. *noma* 2. 8, 5. 5, 10. 5; as. *noma(n)* 2. 7, 7. 4.
- nū* adv. nunc, \**ne* 7. 74.
- nū-gēt* adv. adhuc, 3. 6, 5. 33.
- nū-ðā* adv. jam, 12. 4.
- nybðe* V. *nemðe*.
- (ge)*nyhtsumian* wv. sufficere, pres. part. asm. *genyhtsumien-dne* (= sufficientem) 7. 17.
- nyllan* av. nolle, imper. 2 pl. *nyllað* (= nolite) 4. 5.
- nystan* wv. nescire, ind. pret. 3 pl. *nystun* (= nesciebant) 7. 34; subj. pres. 3 sg. *nyte* (= nesciat) 11. 9, 11. 13, 12. 9.
- æfestian* wv. festinare, ind. pret. 3 pl. *æfestun* (= festinaverunt) 5. 24.
- æhtan* wv. persequi, pres. part. nsm. *æhtende* (= persequens) 5. 14.
- of* prep. de, ex, (with dat.) of scepum (= de ovibus) &c. 1. 5, 1. 11, 2. 5, 3. 7, 3. 9, 4. 6, 4. 14, 4. 15, 6. 6, 7. 1, 7. 25 (twice), 7. 53, 7.



62, 7. 63, 7. 77, 9. 5, 9. 9,  
9. 15, 10. 3, 10. 8, 11. 1,  
13. 8.  
*ofdūne* adv. deorsum, 7. 45; *ða*  
*ofdune* steogun (= qui dis-  
cunt) 3. 20; *ofdune* sette (=   
deposuit) 10. 7.  
*ofer* prep. super, (with acc.) *ofer*  
feond (= super inimicos) &c.  
4. 2, 4. 17, 5. 27, 5. 35, 6.  
18, 6. 19, 6. 40, 7. 3, 7. 4,  
7. 20, 7. 22, 7. 50, 7. 54,  
8. 3; (with dat.) *ofer* him (=   
super ipsis) 4. 20.  
*ofergeotul* aj., nsm. *ofergeotul* eard  
(= oblitus es) 7. 35.  
*oferhoga* sm. superbus, ap. *ofer-*  
*hogan* 10. 7.  
*oferswiðan* wv. superare, vincere,  
subj. pres. 1 sg. *ðæt* ic  
*oferswiðe* (= ut vincam) 6.  
41; pp. nsm. *oferswiðed* is  
(= superatus est) 4. 8.  
*oferwrēan* sv. cooperire, operire,  
ind. pret. 3 sg. *oferwrah* (=   
cooperuit) 5. 7; (= operuit) 5.  
16, 6. 6.  
*ofslēan* sv. interficere, occidere,  
ind. fut. 1 sg. ic *ofslea* (= in-  
terficiam) 5. 15; (= occidam)  
7. 76. V. *slēan*.  
*on* prep. post, (with acc.) *on* bec  
(= post tergum) 3. 18; *on*  
*ærmargen* (= deluculo) &c.  
11. 12, 13. 21, 13. 27; *on* *ða*  
(= quo) 7. 67; (with dat.)  
*on* heortan (= corde) &c. 8.  
19, 10. 7, 13. 17.  
*oncnāwan* sv. cognoscere, ind.  
pres. 2 sg. *oncnawes* (= co-  
gnosceris) 6. 3.

*ondettan* wv. confiteri, ind. fut.  
1 sg. ic *ondettu* (= confitebor)  
2. 1; 3 sg. *ondetteð* (= con-  
fitebitur) 3. 19; \**ondetteð* 3.  
22; imp. 2 pl. *ondettað* (=   
confitemini) 2. 6; pres. part.  
dpm. *ondettendum* (= confi-  
tentibus) 13. 23.  
*ondgetful* V. *unondgetful*.  
*ondredan* wv. timere, ind. fut.  
1 sg. *ondredu* (= timebo) 2.  
3; pret. 1 sg. *ondreord* 6. 1;  
pres. part. dpm. *ondreden-*  
*du(m)* (= timentibus) 10. 6.  
*ondsweorian* wv. respondere, ind.  
fut. 3 sg. *ondsweorað* (= res-  
pondebit) 3. 13; imper.  
*ondsweora* (= responde) 3.  
12.  
*ondwliota* sm. vultus, as. *ondw-*  
*liotan* 13. 4.  
*onfōn* sv. accipere, suscipere, per-  
cipere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *onfæð*  
(= suscipit) 10. 9; ind. fut.  
3 pl. *onfoð* (= percipient) 7.  
58; pret. 3 sg. *onfeng* (= ac-  
cepit) 7. 21; (= suscepit) 7.  
22; infin. *onfon* (= suscipere)  
13. 12. V. *befōn*.  
*ongeatan* sv. intellegere, imper.  
*ongeotað* (= intellegite) 7.  
11; infin. *ongeatan* 7. 58.  
*ongegn* prep. obviam; (with acc.)  
*gegonn* fremdes cynnes menn  
(= obviam alienigenae) 1. 8.  
*ongerwan* wv. exuere, pp. *ongerð*  
(= exuta) 12. 12. V. *gerwan*.  
*onlēsan* wv. solvere, ind. pres.  
1 pl. *we onlesað* (= solvi-  
mus) 12. 6; subj. pres. 3 sg.

*onlese* (= solvat) 12. 4. V.  
*ālēsan, tōlēsan*.  
*onlicnis* sf. imago, gs. *onlicnisse*  
 13. 3.  
*onræs* sm. impetus, ns. *onræs*  
 6. 17.  
*onscunian* wv. exacerbare, exacer-  
 vare, ind. pret. 3 pl.  
*onscunedun* 7. 31; pp. nsm.  
*onscunad* wes (= exacervatus  
 est) 7. 37.  
*onscuning* sf. abhominatio, dp.  
 in *onscuningu(m)* 7. 32.  
*onsegdnis* sf. sacrificium, libatio,  
 gs. *onsegdnisse* 7. 74; gp. *on-*  
*segdnissa* 7. 73.  
*onseggan* wv. sacrificare, ind.  
 pret. 3 pl. *onsegdun* 7. 33.  
 V. *seggan*.  
*onsien* sf. facies, as. *onsiene* 6. 10,  
 7. 38, 9. 12.  
*onstigend* sm. ascensor, as. *onsti-*  
*gend* 5. 2. V. *ūpstigend*.  
*onstyrian* wv. movere, pp. nsf.  
*onstyred* (= mota) 6. 11; npf.  
*bið onstyred* (= movebuntur)  
 6. 29; npn. *bið onstyred*  
 (= moventur) 8. 14.  
*ontȳnan* wv. adaperire, ind. fut.  
 3 pl. *ontȳnað* (= adaperient)  
 6. 29.  
*onweg* adv., *onweg* afirde (=   
 abstuli) 1. 11; *onweg* adrifu  
 (= expellam) 7. 43; *onweg*  
 adrifan (= repellere) 13. 18.  
*onwendan* wv. transmovere, ind.  
 fut. 3 rd. plur. *onwendað* 7. 59.  
 \**organe* sf. organum, as. honda  
 mine dydun *organan* (= ma-  
 nus meae fecerunt organum)  
 1. 3.

*ot* V. *oð*.

*oðēawan* V. *oðēawan*.

*oð* prep. usque ad, in, usque; of  
 marne *oð* efen (= de mane  
 usque ad vesperam) 3. 7;  
 from efenne *oð* margen (= a  
 vespere usque ad mane) 3.  
 8; of marne *ot* efen (= de  
 mane usque ad vesperam) 3.  
 9; *oð* swirban (= usque ad  
 cervices) 6. 28; *ot* nestan (=   
 in novissimo) 7. 39; *oð* hel-  
 wearan (= usque ad inferos)  
 7. 45; *oð* in weoruld (= usque  
 in saeculum) 10. 11.

*oðēawan* wv. ostendere, fut. 1  
 sg. *oðēawu* (= ostendam) 7. 38.

*oðēawian* wv. sostendi (?), ind.  
 pres. 2 sg. *oðēawes* (= sosten-  
 deris) 6. 4.

*oðer* pron. indef. alius, ns. *oðer*  
 4. 4, 7. 76.

*oð-ðæt* conj. donec, usque, 4.  
 10, 5. 28, 5. 29.

*oððe* conj. aut, 3. 13, 3. 15, 6.  
 16, 6. 17.

*ōwestem* sm. propago, ns. *owes-*  
*tem* 7. 63. V. *westem*.

*oxa* sm. bos, np. *æxen* 6. 38;  
 gp. *oxna* 7. 25.

*Phāraō* pn. Pharaō, Farao, gs.  
*Pharaones* (= Pharaonis) 5. 5;  
*Faraones* (= Farao) 5. 34.

*plantian* wv. plantare, ind. pres.  
 2 sg. *plantas* (= plantas) 5. 30.

*rāran* V. *ūprāran*.

*ræs* V. *onræs*.

*rāp* sm. funiculum, ns. *rāp* 7. 16.

*rēad* aj. ruber; (weak) dsf. in ðere *readan* sǣ (= in Rubro Mare) 5. 7.

*rēaf* V. *hērerēaf*.

(ge)*rēccan* wv. dirigere, regere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *reced* (= regat) 11. 8; infin. to *gereccenne* (= ad dirigendos) 9. 17. V. *ārēccan*.

*rēccere* sm. rector, vs. *reccere* 12. 1.

*regn* sm. pluvia, ns. *regn* 7. 2.

*reht* aj., (weak) nsm. *se rehta* geleafa 11. 9, 11. 12, 12. 9. V. *unreht*.

*rehtwis* aj. justus, nsm. *rehtwis* 7. 7, 13. 28; gpm. *\*rehwisre* (= justorum) 8. 18.

*rehtwīsnis* sf. justitia, ds. *\*rehtwīsnisse* 5. 21; in *rehtwīsnisse* 9. 10. V. *unrehtwīsnis*.

(ge)*reordnis* sf. refectio, ds. *gereordnisse* 5. 22.

*reſt* sf. quies. ns. *sie rest* (= quies) 12. 3.

(ge)*reſtan* wv. requiescere, ind. fut. 1 sg. *gerestu* (= requiescam) 6. 34.

*ricsian* wv. regnare, ind. pres. 2 sg. *ricsas* 5. 33.

*rīm* sn. numerus, ds. *after rime* 7. 15.

*rīsan* V. *ārīsan*.

*rōd* sf. crux, as. *rode* 13. 16.

*ræde* aj. asper, apm. *ræde* 11. 7.

*rōmm* sm. aries, gp. *romma* 7. 26.

*ryne* sm. cursus, as. *ryne* (= cursus) 11. 13.

*sǣ* sm. and f. mare, ns. *sǣ* 5. 16; as. in *sǣ* (= in mare) 5.

2, 5. 6, 5. 35, 6. 17, 6. 30; ðorh midne *se* 5. 37; gs. *sǣ* 5. 36; ds. in ðere *readan sǣ* (= in Rubro Mare) 5. 7; in midre *sǣ* (= in medio mare) 5. 14; np. *sǣ* (= maria) 8. 12. V. *wīd-sǣ*. *salm* sm. psalmus, ap. *salmas* 3. 23.

*sār* sn. dolor, np. *sar* (= dolores) 5. 24.

*sārgian* wv. dolere, ind. fut. 3 pl. *sargiað* (= dolebunt) 6. 20.

*sāwol* sf. anima, ns. *sawul* 6. 4, 10. 1, 13. 9; as. *sawul* 3. 18; *sawle* 5. 15; gs. *sawle* 3. 15; np. *\*sawe* 8. 18.

(ge)*sceapan* sv. creare, ind. pret. 3 sg. *gescop*. 7. 11.

*scearn* sn. stercus, ds. of *scearne* (= de stercore) 4. 15.

*scēawian* wv. considerare, ind. pret. 1 sg. *ic sceawade* 6. 1.

*scedeht* aj. umbrosus, dsm. *scedehtum* 6. 6.

*scēp* sn. ovis, np. *scep* 6. 38; ap. *scep* 1. 2; gp. *scepa* 7. 26; dp. of *scepum* (= de ovibus) 1. 5.

*sceppend* sm. creator, vs. *sceppend* 12. 1, 13. 1.

*scērian* V. *biscērian*.

*scēpan* V. *āscēpan*.

(ge)*scildan* wv. defendere, ind. pres. 3 sg. *he gescilded* (= defendit) 7. 88; pp. nsn. *bið gescilded* (= defenditur) 7. 88.

(ge)*scildend* sm. protector, ns. *gescildend* 5. 2; np. *gescildend* (= protectores) 7. 75.

*scīma* sm. nitor, ds. mid *scīman*  
(= nitore) 11. 3.

*scīnan* sv. micare, pres. part.  
nsf. *scīnende* (= micans) 11.  
3.

*scīn-hiow* s. fantasia, gs. *scīnhio-*  
*wes* 6. 22. V. *hiow*.

*scotung* sf. jaculum, np. *scotunge*  
6. 23.

*scrid* sn. currus, ap. *scrid* (= *currus*) 5. 5.

*scunian* V. *onscunian*.

*scuning* V. *onscuning*.

*scūr* sm. imber, ns. *scur* 7. 3,  
8. 5.

*scyld* sf. culpa, ns. *scyld* 12. 11;  
as. *scyld* 11. 6.

*scyldig* aj. reus, apm. *scyldge* 12.  
5.

(ge)*scyldru* spl. scapulae, ap. ofer  
*gescyldru* 7. 22.

*se* rel. pron., nsm. *se* (= qui)  
7. 30, 7. 35, 10. 4, 13. 10;  
*se* de (= qui) 7. 77; nsf. *sie*  
= quae) 4. 11; asm. *done*  
(= quem) 13. 4, 13. 6,  
13. 8, 13. 9, 13. 24; (= *quod*)  
9. 8; asf. on *ða*  
(= quo) 7. 67; asn. *ðæt*  
(= quod) 3. 13, 5. 31, 5.  
32; (= quem) 5. 21, 5. 29;  
gsn. *des* (= cuius) 13. 5;  
dsm. *ðæm* (= cui) 13. 3;  
np. *ða* (= qui) 3. 20, 7. 82,  
7. 89, 9. 4, 9. 16; *ða* (= qui)  
9. 6; *ða* (= quae) 8. 3, 8. 13;  
ap. *ða* (= quos) 7. 33; to  
*ðæm ða* nystun (= quos nes-  
ciebant) 7. 34; gpm. *ðeara*  
(= quorum) 7. 73; dpm.  
*ðæm* (= quibus) 7. 40, 7.

72, 9. 15; to *ðæm ða* nystun  
(= quos nesciebant) 7. 34.  
*se* def. art., nsm. *se* hea (= ex-  
celsus) &c. 7. 14, 7. 29, 11.  
9, 11. 12, 12. 9; nsf. *sie*  
swiðre \*honda (= dextera  
manus) 5. 9; *sie* rest (= quies)  
12. 3; asm. *done* swergendan  
að (= iusjurandum) 9. 7;  
*done* halgan (= sanctum)  
8. 21; asf. *ða* swiðran (= dex-  
teram) 5. 20, 7. 79; gsm.  
*des* hestan (= altissimi) &c.  
9. 11, 12. 13, 13. 15; gsn.  
*des* temples (= templi) 13.  
13; dsm. from *ðæm* weofen-  
dan (= a texente) &c. 3. 6,  
7. 31, 11. 15; in *ðæm* dege  
(= in illa die) 2. 6; dsf.  
*ðere* 5. 7, 5. 23, 11. 16, 13.  
16, 13. 31; dsn. *ðæm* 5. 17,  
7. 14; instr. in *ðon* (= in eo)  
6. 4; (= in ea) 6. 29; mid  
*ðy* halgan gaste (= cum Sancto  
Spiritu) 11. 15, 13. 30; npn.  
*ða* aldan (= vetera) &c. 4.  
6, 12. 6; 12. 12; apn. *ða* hean  
(= sublimia) &c. 4. 6, 6. 41,  
10. 4, 13. 24.

*sēađ* sm. lacus, as. *sead* 3. 21.

*sēcan* wv. quaerere, ind. pret.  
1 sg. ic *sobte* (= quaesivi) 3.  
2.

*sēd* sn. semen, ds. *sede* 10. 11.

*segdnis* V. *onsegdnis*.

*seggan* wv. adnuntiare, ind. fut.  
3 sg. *segeađ* (= adnuntiabit)  
7. 12; ind. pret. 3 sg. *segde*  
1. 4; imper. *seggađ* (= ad-  
nuntiate) 2. 9. V. *onseggan*.

*segnian* wv. signare, pp. nrm.  
*gesegnade* (= signati) 13. 16.  
*sehde* adv. ecce, 2. 2, 3. 16,  
 10. 3.  
*seld* sn. sedes, ds. of *selde* (= de  
 sede) 10. 8. V. *sundur-seld*.  
*sellan* wv. dare, tradere, ind.  
 fut. 3 sg. *seled* (= dabit) 4.  
 21; pret. 2 sg. *saldes* (= de-  
 disti) 13. 4, 13. 12; 3 sg.  
*salde* (= dedit) 6. 21; (= tra-  
 didit) 7. 60; subj. pres. 3 sg.  
*selle* (= donet) 11. 7; imper.  
*sellad* (= date) 7. 5; infin.  
 to *sellende* (= ad dandam) 9.  
 13; pres. part. *sellende* (=   
 daturus) 13. 27; (= datu-  
 rum) 9. 8.  
*seŋcan* V. *bisēncan*.  
*seŋdan* wv. mittere, ind. pret.  
 2 sg. *du sendes* (= misisti)  
 5. 11, 5. 16; *sendes* 6. 27,  
 6. 30; 3 sg. *sende* (= misit)  
 1. 5. V. *insēndan*.  
*seolfa* pron., ic *seo(l) fa* (= ipse)  
 3. 14.  
*(ge)sēon* sv. videre, ind. fut.  
 1 sg. ic ne *gesio* (= non vide-  
 bo) 3. 2; 3 pl. *gesead* (= vi-  
 debunt) 6. 20; pret. 3 sg.  
*gesæh* 7. 36, 7. 70; imper.  
*gesiad* (= videte) 7. 75  
 (twice); pres. part. nsm.  
*gesionde* (= videns) 13. 25.  
*(ge)sēttan* wv. ponere, consti-  
 tuere, statuere, ind. pret.  
 3 sg. *sette* (= posuit) 4. 17,  
 6. 9; (= statuit) 7. 14; of  
 dune *sette* (= deposuit) 10.  
 7; imp. *gesete* (= constitue)

6. 40; *geseted* (= \*statuit) 6.  
 41.  
*sia* sf. pupilla, as. *sian* egan (=   
 pupillam oculi) 7. 20.  
*sibb* sf. pax, gs. *sibbe* 9. 17; ds.  
*sibbe* 3. 17.  
*sien* V. *onsien*.  
*Sigelhearwan* p. n. Aethiopes,  
 gp. *Sigelhearwena* (= Aethio-  
 pum) 6. 14.  
*singan* sv. canere, cantare, ind.  
 pres. 1 pl. we *singad* 13. 22;  
 fut. 1 pl. we *singad* (= can-  
 tabimus) 3. 24; subj. pres.  
 1 pl. *singen* we (= cantemus)  
 5. 1; imper. *singad* (= can-  
 tate) 2. 8; pres. part. nrm.  
*singende* (= canentes) 12. 6.  
*Sion* place n. Sion, gs. *Sione* (=   
 Sion) 2. 10.  
*siðfet* sm. iter np. *siðfetas* (=   
 \*itenera) 6. 13; dp. in *siðfet-*  
*um* 6. 21.  
*(ge)sittan* sv. possidere, ind.  
 pres. 3 sg. *gesited* (= posse-  
 dit) 7. 10.  
*(ge)sittan* sv. sedere, considerare,  
 ind. pres. 3 pl. *sittad* (= se-  
 dent) 9. 17; pret. 3 sg. *geset*  
 (= consedit) 7. 21; subj.  
 pres. 3 sg. *ðæt he sitte* (= ut  
 sedeat) 4. 15.  
*slēan* sv. percutere, ind. fut.  
 1 sg. *slea* (= percutiam) 7.  
 77. V. *ofslēan*.  
*slēp* sm. sopor, somnium, gs.  
*slepes* 12. 2, 12. 11.  
*slēpan* wv. dormire, somniare,  
 ind. pres. 3 pl. *slepad* (= som-  
 nient) 12. 12; infin. *slēpan*  
 12. 10 (twice); pres. part.

- gpm. *slependra* (= dormientium) 13. 15.  
*slidan* V. *āslidan*.  
*slitan* V. *tōslitan*.  
*smēc* sm. vapor, as. *smec* 12. 11.  
*smēgan* wv. meditari, ind. fut. 1 sg. ic *smegu* (= meditabor) 3. 11.  
*smeoru* sn. adeps, as. *smeoru* 7. 73; ds. mid *smeorwe* 7. 26, 7. 27.  
*smerian* V. *bismerian*, *smierwan*.  
*smirwan* wv. ungere, ind. pret. 3 sg. *smirede* (= unxit) 1. 6. V. *bismerian*.  
*smirenīs* sf. unctio, gs. *smirenisse* 1. 6.  
*smæde* aj. canorus, nsf. *smædu* 12. 7.  
*snāw* sm. nix, ns. *snaw* 7. 4; (= nives) 8. 9.  
*snottor* aj. sapiens, nsn. *snottur* 7. 9.  
*Sodomwearan* p. n. Sodomi, gp. *Sodomwarena* (= Sodomo-rum) 7. 62.  
(ge)*sōmnian* wv. congerere, congregare, ind. fut. 1 sg. ic *gesomniu* (= congeram) 7. 46; pp. npn. *gesomnade* (= congregata) 7. 66.  
*sōmud* adv. simul, 7. 85, 7. 86; (= una) 11. 15, 13. 31.  
*sōð* aj. verus, nsf. *sōð* 11. 2; npn. *sōðe* (= vera) 7. 5.  
*sōðfestnis* sf. veritas, as. *sōðfestnisse* 3. 21, 3. 23.  
*sōðlice* adv. autem, enim, jam, ergo, 1. 9, 3. 17, 4. 4, 4. 17, 5. 1, 5. 36, 6. 38, 7. 53, 7. 61, 7. 70, 9. 12, 10. 3, 13. 6, 13. 28; \**sōðl* (= enim) 7. 62.  
*spōrettan* wv. recalcitrare, ind. pres. 3 sg. *spōretted* (= recalcitravit) 7. 29.  
(ge)*sprec* sn. eloquium, ns. *gesprec* 7. 2.  
*spreocan* sv. loqui, ind. fut. 1 sg. *spreocu* (= loquar) 7. 1; infin. *spreocan* 4. 6; pres. part. nsm. *spreocende* wes (= locutus est) 9. 3, 10. 10.  
*springan* V. *āspringan*.  
*spyrgend* V. *āspyrgend*.  
*stān* sm. lapis, petra, ns. *stan* 5. 8, 5. 28; ds. *stane* 7. 25 (twice).  
*steaðol* sm. fundamentum, ap. *steaðelas* 7. 46.  
*steaðulfest* aj. stabilitus, dsm. *steaðulfestu(m)* 7. 52.  
*stefn* sf. vox, ns. *stefn* 12. 7; as. *stefene* 6. 21; ds. from *stefene* 6. 32.  
*steōran* wv. gubernare, ind. pres. 3 sg. *steored* (= gubernet) 11. 8; ind. pret. 2 sg. *steordes* (= gubernasti) 5. 21.  
*steorra* sm. stella, np. *steorran* 8. 5.  
*stīgan* sv., ind. past. 3 pl. of dune *steogun* (= discendunt) 3. 21. V. *āstīgan*.  
*stīgend* V. *onstīgend*, *ūpstīgend*.  
*stille* aj. quietus, apm. *stille* 12. 13.  
(ge)*stillan* wv. quiescere, ind. pret. 3 sg. *gestilde* (= quievit) 3. 4.  
(ge)*stōndan* sv. sistere, exire, ind. pret. 2 sg. *du gestode*

- (= existi) 6. 26; 3 sg. *stod*  
 (= stetit) 6. 22; 3 pl. *stodun*  
 (= steterunt) 6. 11. V.  
*ætstōndan*.
- strec* aj. strenuus, apf. *strece* 11. 6.  
*stregdan* sv. aspergere, pres. part.  
 nsm. *stregdende* (= aspergens)  
 6. 20. V. *tōstregdan*.
- strēl* sm. sagitta, ap. *strelas* 7.  
 47, 7. 82.
- strengu* sf. fortitudo, robor, ns.  
*strengu* 2. 4; ds. *strengu* 4.  
 9, 4. 19, 6. 10, 7. 24.
- strong* aj. fortis, validus, nsm.  
*strong* 4. 5; gpm. *strongra* 4.  
 8; (super.) dsn. in *wetre ðæm*  
*strengestan* 5. 17.
- strongian* wv., pp. nsm. *bið*  
*gestrongad* (= roborabitur)  
 4. 19.
- sūcan* sv. sugere, ind. pret. 3 pl.  
*sucun* (= suxerunt) 7. 24.
- sumur* sm. aestus, ns. *sumur* 8. 7.
- sundurseld* sn. solium, as. *sun-*  
*durseld* 4. 16. V. *seld*.
- sunne* sf. sol, ns. *sunne* 6. 22,  
 8. 4; vs. *sunne* 11. 3.
- sunu* sm. filius, ns. *sunu* 11.  
 14, 13. 2, 13. 30; as. *sunu*  
 8. 21.
- swalwe* sf. hirundo, gs. *brid*  
*swalwan* (= pullus hirundi-  
 nis) 3. 10.
- swē* conj. sic, sicut, 3. 8, 3.  
 10, 3. 15, 3. 22, 6. 8, 6.  
 29, 7. 9, 9. 3, 10. 10; *swe*  
*swe* (= quasi) 3. 5, 3. 8;  
 (= velut) 3. 6, 7. 80, 11.  
 12; (= sicut) 3. 10, 4. 5, 7.  
 2, 7. 3 (twice), 7. 4, 7. 19,  
 7. 20, 7. 61; (= ut) 3. 11,
4. 4; (= tamquam) 5. 8, 5.  
 11, 5. 13, 5. 17, 5. 28; \*h.  
*swe* (= quomodo) 7. 58.
- swelgan* V. *forswelgan*.
- swēncan* wv. fatigare, pp. apm.  
*geswēnte* (= fatigatos) 7. 71.  
 (ge)*swēncednis* sf. tribulatio, gs.  
*geswēncednisse* 6. 34.
- sweorīan* V. *ōndsweorīan*.
- sweord* sn. gladius, ns. *sweord*  
 7. 51, 7. 83; as. *sweord* 7.  
 80; ds. *gebrogdnum sweorde*  
 (= evaginato gladio) 1. 10;  
*sweorde* 5. 15.
- swerīan* wv. jurare, ind. fut.  
 1 sg. *swergu* (= jurabo) 7.  
 78; ind. pret. 3 sg. *he swor*  
 (= juravit) 9. 8; pres. part.  
 asm. (weak) *done swergendan*  
*að* (= iusjurandum) 9. 7.
- sweð* sn. vestigium, ap. *sweðe*  
 13. 25.
- swīcan* V. *biswīcan*.
- (ge)*swīgian* wv. conticescere,  
 ind. fut. 3 pl. *geswīgiad* (= conticescent) 4. 18.
- swīndan* V. *āswīndan*.
- swīrbān* sn. cervix, ap. *oð swir-*  
*ban* (= usque ad cervices) 6.  
 28. V. *bān*.
- swīð* aj. dexter, (compar.) nsf.  
*swīðre* (= dextera) 5. 8, 5.  
 9; asf. *ða swīðran* (= dexte-  
 ram) 5. 20.
- swīðan* V. *oferswīðan*.
- swīðlice* adv. vehementer 6. 13.
- syngian* wv. peccare, ind. pret.  
 3 pl. *syngadun* 7. 7.
- synn* sf. peccatum, ap. *synne* 3.  
 19; gp. *synna* 9. 14.

*tācnian* wv. signare, pp. npn.  
*getacnad* (= signata) 7. 66.  
*tēn* num. deni, ap. *ten* dūsendu  
 (= dena milia) 7. 59.  
*tēlan* wv. detrahēre, trahere,  
 ind. fut. 2 sg. *teles* (= de-  
 trahes) 6. 25; pres. part.  
 gpm. *telendra* (= trahentium)  
 7. 49.  
 (ge)*teld* sn. tabernaculum, ns.  
*geteld* 3. 5; np. *geteld* 6. 14,  
 6. 15.  
*tempel* sn. templum, gs. *temples*  
 13. 14.  
*ḡa* adv. tunc, 5. 24.  
*ḡæt* conj. ut, 3. 18, 4. 15, 6.  
 26, 6. 34, 6. 41, 11. 12, 12.  
 2, 12. 5, 13. 6, 13. 21, 13.  
 29; *ḡet* (= ut) 9. 9; *ḡæt*  
 hie ne gedēafien (= ne con-  
 sentiant) 7. 54.  
 (ge)*ḡeafian* wv. consentire, subj.  
 pres. 3 pl. *ḡæt hie gedēafien*  
 (= ne consentiant) 7. 55.  
*ḡearfa* sm. pauper, ns. *ḡearfa*  
 6. 30; as. *ḡearfan* 4. 13, 4.  
 15.  
*ḡeccan* wv. tegere, ind. pres.  
 3 sg. *ḡeceḡ* 7. 20.  
 (ge)*ḡeḡt* n. consilium, ds. forlo-  
 renum *geḡehte* (= perdito con-  
 silio) 7. 56.  
*ḡencan* wv. recogitare, ind. fut.  
 1 sg. ic *ḡencu* (= recogitabo)  
 3. 14.  
*ḡenenes* V. *āḡenenes*.  
*ḡennan* wv. tendere, pres. part.  
 nsm. *ḡennende* (= tendens)  
 6. 18. V. *āḡennan*.  
*ḡeod* sf. gens, ns. fordon *ḡeod*  
 forlorenum *geḡehte is* (= qui

agens perdito consilio est) 7.  
 56; as. in *ḡeode* (= in  
 gentem) 7. 43 (twice); np.  
*ḡeode* 5. 23, 6. 29, 7. 86;  
*ḡeode* 6. 12; ap. *ḡeode* 6. 25,  
 7. 14; gp. *ḡeoda* 7. 15.  
*ḡeodan* V. *underḡeodan*.  
*ḡeodscipe* sm. disciplina, ns.  
*ḡeodscipe* 7. 57.  
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- unbeorend* aj. sterilis, (str.) nsf. *unbeorendu* 4. 10.
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*upcyme* sm. exortus, as. *upcyme* 12. 5.

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*upræran* wv. erigere, pres. part. nsm. *uprærende* (= eregens) 4. 15.

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*wall* sm. murus, ap. *wall* (= muros) 5. 13.

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*weg* sm. via, \*labes, as. *weg* 9. 17; ds. in *wege* (= in labere) 11. 3; np. *wegas* 7. 6; ap. *wegas* 9. 13.

*wegan* V. *fordwegan*.

*welgelician* wv. beneplacere, pp. nsm. *welgelicad* (= beneplacitum) 1. 7.

*welle* sm. fons, dp. of *wellu(m)* (= de fontibus) 2. 5.

*wemme* V. *unwemme*.

*wendan* V. *onwenden*.

*weofan* sv. texere, (weak) pres. part. dsm. from *ðæm weofendan* (= a texente) 3. 6.

(ge)*weolegian* wv. ditare, ind. pres. 3 sg. *geweolegað* 4. 13.

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\**weoler* talis, dp. in *weoleru(m)* (= in talibus) 3. 15.

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*conjugere*, gegadrian.  
*conscientia*, ingehygd.

*consentire*, gedēafian.  
*considerare*, scēawian.  
*considerare*, gesittan.  
*consilium*, gedēht.  
*consolari*, frōefran.  
*constituere*, gesēttan.  
*consummare*, gefyllan.  
*consummatio*, geendung.  
*conterere*, fordræstan.  
*conticescere*, geswigian.  
*contubernium*, gemænnis.  
*conturbare*, gedrōefan.  
*convertere*, cęrran.  
*convolvere*, befaldan.  
*coopere*, oferwrēan.  
*cor*, heorte.  
*coram*, biforan.  
*cornu*, horn.  
*corpus*, lichōma.  
*corripere*, gedrēan.  
*creare*, gesceppan.  
*creator*, sceppend.  
*credere*, gelēfan.  
*crepusculum*, deg-red.  
*crux*, rōd.  
*culpa*, scyld.  
*cum*, mid, mit-te, donne.  
*cunctus*, all.  
*curare*, hælān.  
*currus*, scrid.  
*cursus*, ryne.  
*custodire*, haldan.  
*daemonius*, dēoful.  
*dare*, sellan.  
*David*, Dauīd,  
*de*, of.  
*debitor*, borg-gelda.  
*decidere*, gefallan.  
*decipere*, bešwican.  
*decorus*, wlitig.

*deducere*, gelædan.  
*defendere*, gescildan.  
*deficere*, āspringan.  
*deflere*, wōepan.  
*defluere*, tōflōwan.  
*deluculum*, ær-margen.  
*demergere*, bisęncan.  
*deni*, tēn.  
*dens*, tōd.  
*deorsum*, ofdūne.  
*derelinquere*, forlēoran.  
*descendere*, āstigan.  
*detrahere*, tēlan.  
*deus*, god.  
*devenire*, bicuman.  
*devorare*, forswelgan.  
*devotus*, hold.  
*dexter*, swiðre.  
*diabolus*, dēoful.  
*dicere*, cweoðan.  
*dies*, deg.  
*digitus*, finger.  
*dignari*, gemeodemian.  
*dilatari*, brēdan.  
*dilectus*, liof.  
*diligere*, lufian.  
*dimittere*, forlēoran.  
*dirigere*, geręccan.  
*discendere*, āstigan, ofdūne stigan.  
*disciplina*, dēodscipe.  
*dispergere*, tōstregdan.  
*dissolvere*, tolēsan.  
*ditare*, geweolegian.  
*dives*, weolig.  
*dividere*, tōdælan.  
*docere*, gelæran.  
*dolere*, sargian.  
*dolor*, sār.  
*dolus*, fācn.  
*dominari*, waldan.  
*dominus*, dryhten.



domus, hūs.  
 donare, forgeofan.  
 donec, oð-ðæet.  
 dormire, slēpan.  
 dorsum, bec.  
 draco, draca.  
 ducere, ~~gel~~lādan.  
 dum, mit-te, donne.  
 duo, twēgen.  
 dux, lādtow.

ebrietas, dryncennis. *ēdenn*  
 ecce, sehðe. *ec*  
 edere, ācennan, ~~tan~~.  
 Edom, Edom.  
 egenus, wēdla.  
 elevare, ūp āhēbban.  
 eligere, ~~h~~ceosan.  
 eloquium, gesprec.  
 enim, sōðlice.  
 equitatus, ēored.  
 equus, aequus, hors.  
 ergo, sōðlice.  
 erigere, ūpræran, āreccan.  
 eripere, genērian. *g*  
 erudire, gelæran.  
 eruere, genērian. *g*  
 esca, mēte.  
 esurire, hyngrian.  
 evaginare, ~~g~~bregdan.  
 ex, of.  
 exacerbare, exacervare, onscunian.  
 exacuere, āscerpan.  
 exaltare, ūphēbban, ūp āhēbban.  
 exardere, beornan.  
 exaudire, gehēran.  
 excelsum, hēanis.  
 excelsus, hēh.  
 excitare, āwēccan.  
 exercitus, weorud.  
 exire, gestōndan, ūtgān.

exortus, ūpcyme.  
 exortus, ypped.  
 expandere, āðennan.  
 expavescere, forhtian.  
 expellere, onweg ādrifan.  
 exspectare, ābidan, bidan.  
 exsurgere, ārisan.  
 extendere, āðennan.  
 extra, būtan.  
 exultare, gefēon.

facere, dōn.  
 facies, onsiēn.  
 factus, geworden.  
 faenum, hēg.  
 fallere, biwāgan.  
 familiaris, dēowincel.  
 famis, hungor. *u*  
 fantasia, scin-hiow.  
 Farao, Fāraō.  
 fatigare, ~~h~~swencan.  
 fatuus, dysig.  
 fel, galla. *is*  
 ferre, nymān, beoran.  
 fervere, wallan.  
 fessus, wōerig.  
 festinare, cefestjan.  
 ficus, fictrēo.  
 fidelis, getrēowe.  
 fides, gelēafa.  
 fiducialiter, ~~h~~trēowlice.  
 filia, dohter. *u*  
 filius, bearn, sunu.  
 finire, geendian.  
 finis, ende.  
 firmamentum, trymenis.  
 firmus, trum.  
 fluctus, yð.  
 flumen, flōd.  
 fons, wælle, wēlla.  
 forma, hiow.

*formidare*, forhtian.  
*fortis*, ströng.  
*fortitudo*, ströngu.  
*fovere*, hirtan.  
*frater*, bröður.  
*fraus*, fācn. <sup>e</sup>  
*frigus*, çe. <sup>e</sup>  
*frons*, foranhēafud.  
*fructus*, westem.  
*fulgur*, lēgitu.  
*fundamentum*, steadōl.  
*funiculum*, rāp.  
*furor*, hātheortnis.  
*futurus*, tōword.  
  
<sup>ia</sup>  
*gaudere*, gefēon.  
*gaudium*, gefēa.  
*gelare*, heardian.  
*generatio*, cnēoris.  
*gens*, dēod.  
*genus*, cynn.  
*gerere*, dōn.  
*gignere*, cennan.  
*gladius*, sweord. <sup>a</sup>  
*gloria*, wuldōr.  
*gloriari*, wuldrian.  
*glorioso*, wuldurlice.  
*gloriosus*, wuldurfest.  
*Gomorra*, Gomorra.  
*gramen*, grēd. <sup>c</sup>  
*gratia*, gefu.  
*gratias*, đoncas.  
*gubernare*, stēoran.  
  
*habere*, habban.  
*habitaculum*, eardung-hūs.  
*habitor*, eardiend.  
*hereditas*, ęfe, ęfewordnis.  
*heremus*, wēsten.  
*hircus*, bucca.  
*hirundo*, swalwe.

*homo*, mōnn.  
*honorare*, ārian.  
*honorificare*, ārian.  
*hostis*, fēond.  
*humiliare*, geēadmōdian.  
*humilis*, ēadmōd.  
*humilitas*, ēadmōdnis.  
*hymnus*, hymen.  
  
*Iacob*, Iācob.  
*iaculum*, scotung.  
*iam*, sōdlice, nū-đa.  
*ibi*, đēr.  
*idolum*, dēofol-geld.  
*ignis*, fyr.  
*ignoscere*, forgeofan.  
*Ihesus*, hælend.  
*imago*, onlicnis.  
*imber*, scūr.  
*immaculatus*, unwēmmē.  
*imperium*, cyne-dōm.  
*impetus*, onræs.  
*impius*, ārleas.  
*implere*, gefyllan.  
*imus*, niderlic.  
*in*, in, ot.  
*inanis*, idel-hēnde.  
*incrassare*, fættian.  
*inducere*, gelædan, ingelædan.  
*indulgentia*, forgefenis.  
*inebriare*, indrēncan.  
*inferi*, hēlwearan.  
*infernus*, hēll.  
*inferus*, hēll.  
*infirmare*, geuntrumian.  
*infirmus*, untrum.  
*informare*, gehiowan.  
*infundere*, ingēotan.  
*inhabitant*, ineardiend. <sup>?</sup>  
*inimicus*, fēond.  
*iniquitas*, unrehtwisnis.

*iniquus*, unreht.  
*inluminare*, inlihtan.  
*inmittere*, inſendan.  
*innotescere*, cūdian.  
*inritare*, bismērian.  
*insanibilis*, ungehælendlic.  
*insensatus*, unŋondgetful.  
*insipiens*, unwis.  
*intelligere*, ongeatan.  
*inter*, betwih.  
*interficere*, ofslēan.  
*interrogare*, frignan.  
*introire*, ingān.  
*investigator*, āspyrgend.  
*invidus*, efestig.  
*invocare*, gecēgan.  
*ipse*, seolfa.  
*ira*, eorre.  
*\*iraecundia*, eorsung.  
*iratus*, eorre.  
*ire*, gān.  
*Israhel*, Israēl.  
*iter*, siðfet.  
*iubar*, lioma.  
*index* ~~iox~~, dūdcēma.  
*iudicare*, dōcēman.  
*iudicium*, dōm.  
*iurare*, swērian.  
*iusiurandum*, sē swērgende ađ.  
*iustitia*, rehtwīsnis.  
*iustus*, rehtwīs.  
*iuuenis*, gung.  
  
~~\*labes~~, weg.  
*labi*, āslidan. *u*  
*labium*, weolc.  
*labor*, gewinn.  
*lac*, milc.  
*lacus*, sēađ.  
*laetari*, blissian.  
*laetus*, blide.

*lapis*, stān.  
*latere*, lūtian.  
*laudabilis*, hērgendlic.  
*laudare*, hērlan. *g*  
*laudatio*, hērenis.  
*laus*, lof.  
*ledere*, gedērgan.  
*leo*, lea.  
*Libanus*, Libano.  
*libatio*, onseġdnis, *T*  
*liberare*, gefrēon. *igan*  
~~ligare~~ *gan*, bindan,  
*locare*, bihȳran.  
*longus*, lōng.  
*loqui*, spreocan.  
*lubricus*, glidder.  
*lucere*, lihtan.  
*luctus*, wōp.  
*lumen*, leht.  
*luna*, mōna.  
*lux*, leht.  
  
*magnificare*, miclian.  
*magnifice*, micellice.  
*magnitudo*, micelnis.  
*magnus*, micel.  
*majestas*, meġen-đrymm.  
*maledicere*, wērgcweodelian.  
*malum*, yfel. *eo*  
*manducare*, *atan*.  
*mane*, margen.  
*manus*, hōnd.  
*mare*, sǣ.  
*matutinus tempus*, margen-tīd.  
*medicus*, lēce.  
*meditari*, smēgan.  
*medium*, middel.  
*medius*, midd.  
*mel*, hunig.  
*meminisse*, gemunan.  
*memor*, gemyndig.

<sup>Λ</sup>  
*memorari*, gemunan.  
*memoria*, gemynd.  
*mens*, mōd.  
*mentiri*, lēgan.  
*mergere*, biſeſcan.  
*meritum*, geeornung.  
*micare*, ſcinan.  
*mille*, ðuſend.  
*minorare*, gewōnian.  
*mirabilis*, wundurlic.  
*miser cordia*, mildheortnis.  
*mittere*, ſendan.  
*Mohabitaē*, Mōab.  
*mons*, munt.  
*mors*, dēað.  
*mortificare*, cwælman.  
*movere*, onſtyrfa.  
*multiplicare*, gemōnigfaldian.  
*multitudo*, mēngu.  
*multus*, mōnig, micel.  
*mundare*, geclāsnian.  
*mundus*, middangeard.  
*munus*, geſu,  
*murus*, wall.

*nam*, weotudlice.  
*nasci*, ācennan.  
*natio*, cnēoris.  
*ne*, ðȳ-læs.  
*nemo*, nānig.  
*neque*, ne.  
*nescire*, nystan.  
*nidus*, nest.  
*nisi*, nemðe, nybðe.  
*nitor*, ſcīma.  
*nix*, snāw.  
*nolle*, nyllan.  
*nomen*, noma.  
*non*, ne, nō, nāles.  
*nonne*, ahne.  
*noscere*, cunnan.

*notus*, cūð.  
*novi recentes*, niowinga.  
*nox*, næht.  
*nubis*, wolcen.  
*numerus*, rīm.  
*numquid*, ah.  
*nunc*, nū.

*oblitus*, ofergeotul.  
*obprobrium*, edwit.  
*obviam*, ongegn.  
*occidere*, ofslēan.  
*occultum*, dēgulinis.  
*oculus*, ēge.  
*odisse*, fēon. *figar*  
*oleum*, ele.  
*oliva*, ele-trē.  
*omnis*, all, ylc.  
*operire*, oferwrēan.  
*opus*, werc.  
*oratio*, gebed.  
*orbis*, ymbhwyrft.  
*ordiri*, hēfeldian.  
*ordo*, ende-byrdnis.  
*organum*, \*organe.  
*oriri*, ufancuman.  
*os*, bān.  
*os*, mūð.  
*ostendere*, oðēawan.  
*ovis*, scēp.

*panis*, hlāf.  
*parare*, ~~g~~gearwian.  
*parere*, cennan.  
*paratus*, gearu.  
*pars*, dæl.  
*partire*, dælan.  
*pascere*, fōedan.  
*pastor*, heorde.  
*pater*, feder.  
*paternus*, federlic.

*pati*, ðrōwian.  
*pauper*, dearfa.  
*pavescere*, forhtian.  
*pavor*, fyrhtu.  
*pax*, sibb.  
*peccare*, syngian.  
*peccatum*, synn.  
*pectus*, brēost.  
*pecus*, nēten.  
*pelagus*, wīd-sæ.  
*per*, ðorh.  
*peragere*, ðōn.  
*percipere*, onfōn.  
*percutere*, slēan.  
*perdere*, forlēosan.  
*perditio*, forlorenis.  
*perennis*, ēce.  
*perire*, forweorðan.  
*perpeti*, ðrōwian.  
*persequi*, ãhtan, efterfylgan.  
*pertransire*, geondfearan.  
*pervertere*, forcęrran.  
*pes*, fōt.  
*petra*, stān.  
*Pharao*, Phāraō.  
*Philistis*, Filisteo.  
*pinguis*, fæt.  
*plantare*, plantian.  
*plasmare*, gehiowan.  
*plebs*, folc.  
*plenus*, ful.  
*plumbum*, lēad.  
*plurimus*, mōnig.  
*pluvia*, regn.  
*polus*, heofen.  
*ponere*, gesęttan.  
*populus*, folc.  
*porta*, get.  
*posse*, męgan.  
*possidere*, gesittan.  
*post*, on.

*potens*, mæhtig.  
*potentia*, mæht.  
*potus*, drync.  
*prae*, fore.  
*praecidere*, forceorfan.  
*praeferre*, forðbringan.  
*praeire*, foregān.  
*praeparare*, gegearwian.  
*praeseptum*, binn.  
*praeter*, būtan.  
*praetium*, weorð.  
*præx*, bœn.  
*pravus*, ðweorh.  
*precare*, biddan.  
*primordium*, fruma.  
*princeps*, alðormōnn.  
*prius*, ær.  
*privare*, biscerfan.  
*pro*, fore.  
*prodigium*, forebēcen.  
*prodire*, forðtýpan.  
*profundum*, grund.  
*progenies*, cynn.  
*projicere*, āweorpan.  
*propago*, ōwestem.  
*prope*, neh.  
*propheta*, witga.  
*propter*, fore.  
*protector*, gescildend.  
*provehere*, forðwegan.  
*pruina*, forst.  
*prumptuarium*, hordern.  
*psalmus*, salm.  
*psalterium*, hearpe.  
*pudor*, clēnnes.  
*puer*, cneht.  
*pullus*, brid.  
*pulpis*, dūst.  
*pupilla*, sif.  
*pusillus*, lýtel.

*quadrigae*, feodur-tēme.

*quaerere*, sēcan. 

*quaesere*, hālsian.

~~*quando*, forðon.~~

*quasi*, swē swē.

*quemadmodum*, tō ðām gemete.

*qui*, sē, sē ðe, ðū.

*quia*, forðon.

*quid*, hwet.

*quies*, rēst.

*quiescere*, gestillan.

*quietus*, stille.

*quis*, hwelc.

*quomodo*, \*h. swe.

*quoniam*, forðon.

*recalcitrare*, sporetan.

*recedere*, gewitan.

*recogitare*, ðencan.

*rector*, rēccere.

*reddere*, āgeofan, geldan.

*redemptio*, ālēsnis.

*redigere*, gebēgan.

*redimere*, ālēsan.

*reducere*, eft ālædan.

*refectio*, gereordnis.

*refrigerare*, cōēlan.

*regere*, ~~ge~~rēccan.

*regnare*, ricsian.

*remissio*, forlētnis.

*remunerator*, geedlēanend.

*renāe*, ēðre.

*repellere*, onweg ādrifan.

*replere*, gefyllan.

*requiescere*, gerēstan.

*res*, wise.

*residuum*, lāf.

*respicere*, gelōcian.

*respondere*, ɔndsweorian.

*resurgere*, ārisan.

*resuscitare*, āwēccan.

*retribuere*, geedlēanian.

*retundere*, gebēgan.

*reus*, scyldig.

*rex*, cyning.

*robor*, strēngu.

*rogare*, biddan.

*ros*, dēaw.

*ruber*, rēad.

*sacerdos*, biscop.

*sacrificare*, onseggan.

*sacrificium*, onsegdnis.

*saeculum*, weoruld.

*sagitta*, strēl.

*salus*, hālu.

*salutaris*, hālwynde.

*salutas*, ~~h~~ālu.

*saluator*, hālend.

*salvus*, hāl.

*sanare*, gehælan.

*sanctimonium*, hālnignis.

*sanctitas*, hālnignis.

*sanctus*, hālig.

*sanguis*, blōd.

*sanitas*, hālu.

*sapere*, hogian.

*sapiens*, snottōr.

*satiare*, gefyllan.


*saturare*, gefyllan.

*scapulae*, gescyldru.

*sceptra*, cynedrymm.

*scientia*, wisdōm.

*scindere*, tōslitan.

*secretus*, dēgbl, 

*secundare*, gewynsumian.

*secundum*, efter.

*sedere*, ~~ge~~sittan.

*sedes*, seld.

*semen*, sēd.

*semper*, aa.

*sempiternus*, ēce.

*senex*, ald.  
*senior*, ældra.  
*sensus*, gehygd.  
*servare*, haldan.  
*servire*, diwan. *Diowan*  
*servus*, ðeow.  
*si*, gif.  
*sic*, swē.  
*sicut*, swē, swē swē.  
*signare*, tæcnian, *se*segnian.  
*similis*, gelic.  
*simul*, sōmud.  
*simulacrum*, herg.  
*sine*, būtan.  
*sinere*, lētan.  
*Sion*, Sīon.  
*sistere*, gestōndan.  
*sitis*, \*ðurs.  
*sobrie*, gedungenlice.  
*sobrius*, gedungen.  
*Sodomi*, Sodomwearan.  
*sol*, sunne.  
*solium*, sundurseld.  
*solvere*, onlēsan, tōlesan.  
*somniare*, slēpan.  
*somnium*, slēp.  
*sopor*, slēp.  
*\*sostendi*, oðeawian.  
*spiritus*, gāst.  
*splendor*, birhtu.  
*spolia*, hēre-rēaf.  
*stabilitas*, steadulfest.  
*stator*, fōða.  
*statuere*, gesettan.  
*stella*, steorra.  
*stercus*, scearn.  
*sterilis*, unbeorende.  
*stipula*, halm.  
*strenuus*, strec.  
*subdere*, underðeodan.  
*sublimare*, gehēan.

*sublimis*, hēh.  
*subtus*, under.  
*succidere*, æceorfan.  
*sufficere*, genyhtsumian.  
*sugere*, sūcan.  
*super*, ofer.  
*superare*, oferswidan.  
*superbus*, oferhoga.  
*superexaltare*, ūphēbban, ūp āhēb-  
     ban.  
*suscipere*, onfōn.  
*suscitare*, āwēccan.  
  
*tabernaculum*, geteld.  
*tabescere*, āswindan.  
*talis*, \*weolp.  
*tamquam*, swē swē.  
*taurus*, fearr.  
*tegere*, ðeccan.  
*temperare*, gemetgian.  
*templum*, tempel.  
*tempus*, tid.  
*tendere*, ðennan.  
*tenebrae*, ðeostru.  
*tenere*, niman.  
*tergum*, bec.  
*terminus*, ende.  
*terni*, ðreo.  
*terra*, eorðe.  
*testamentum*, cýdnis.  
*testis*, geweota.  
*texere*, weofan.  
*thesaurum*, goldhord.  
*timere*, ondrēdan.  
*timor*, ēge.  
*tollere*, āfirran.  
*tonare*, hlēoðrian.  
*totus*, all.  
*tradere*, seġlan.  
*trahere*, tēlan.  
*transire*, lēoran.

*transmigratio*, lēornis.

*tremere*, cwæcian.

*tremor*, cwæcung.

*tribulatio*, geswēncednis.

*trinitas*, đrīnis.

*triticum*, hwæte.

*tunc*, ða.

*turbare*, gedroēfan.

*uadere*, fearan.

*ualidus*, strōng.

*uapor*, smēc.

*ubi*, ðēr, hwēr.

*uehementer*, swīdlice.

*uelum*, wāgrift.

*uelut*, swē swē.

*uenenum*, ātur.

*uenire*, cumān.

*uenter*, wōmb.

*uerbum*, word.

*ueritas*, sōðfestnis.

*uerus*, sōð.

*uesper*, ēfen.

*uespera*, ēfen.

*uestigium*, sweð.

*uestire*, gerwan.

*uetus*, ald.

*uexillum*, gūðfōna.

*uia*, weg.

*uidere*, gesēon.

*uincere*, oferswīðan.

*uinculum*, bēnd.

*uineam*, wīn-geard.

*uinum*, wīn.

*uir*, wer.

*uirgo*, fāmne.

*uirtus*, megen, \* gre.

*uis*, megen, nēd.

*uisus*, innod.

*uisitare*, nēāsian.

*uita*, lif.

*uitis*, wīn-trēo.

*uivere*, lifgan.

*uiuificare*, geliffestan.

*ultio*, wræcu.

*ultra*, mæ.

*umbrosus*, scedeht.

*umquam*, æfre.

*unctio*, smirenīs.

*ungere*, smirwan.

*unigenitus*, āncēnde.

*universus*, all.

*unus*, ān.

*uocare*, gecēgan.

*uolucer*, fugol.

*uotum*, will, gehāt.

*uox*, stefn.

*usque*, oð, oð-ðæt.

*usque ad*, oð, ot.

*usus*, gewuna.

*ut*, swē swē, ðæt.

*uulnerare*, wundian.

*uulnus*, wund.

*uultus*, ondwliota.

*uua*, wīn-berge.

*zelari*<sup>e</sup>, wreocan.

*zelum*<sup>e</sup>, hātheortnis.



# SOME FEATURES OF INTEREST

## IN THE

### PHONOLOGY OF THE MODERN DIALECT

#### OF KENDAL (WESTMORELAND).

BY T. O. HIRST

THIS dialect, upon whose a phonology I have been engaged for some time, is spoken in the town of Kendal; and in the country round about within a radius of eight miles. It belongs to Ellis's Group D 31 var. iii. In the actual town the dialect tends to be mixed, the purest forms of course being heard from country people.

Historically speaking it is a descendant of the old Northumbrian and accordingly the O.E. forms quoted are all from that source, though in some cases it has been found necessary to reconstruct. The M.E. forms quoted belong to the *Northern* Dialects unless stated to the contrary, such texts as, *Cursor Mundi*, *King Horn*, *Havelock the Dane*, the *Towneley Plays*, *Hampole's Pricke of Conscience* being used.

In order to represent with the greatest amount of accuracy the sounds present in this dialect, I have been compelled to make use of a phonetic alphabet the values of the vowels of which are expressed below, in Melville Bell's, *Visible Speech Notation*.

The vowels are :

Unrounded			Rounded		
		High      Mid	High      Mid      Low		
Front	Wide	i = ɪ	ɛ = ɛ		
	Narrow	i = ɪ			
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Mixed	Wide		ə = ɐ		
<hr/>			<hr/>		
Back	Wide	ɐ = ɐ	ɔ = ɔ	ö = ɔ	ɔ = ɔ
	Narrow	a = ɔ	a = ɔ	ō = ɔ	

Then also nine diphthongs — iɥ, ɛɥ, ʊu, au, ai, ɔi, ɪə (ɛə) ʊə.

The Consonants are pronounced as in Literary English with the exception of t, d, before r which are always point-alveolars, written here t, d. It should be noted that j represents English *y* in *yet*, *š*, *sh* in *shall*, *þ* *th* in *thin*, *ð* *th* in *then*, *ʒ* French *j* in *jamais*, *ŋ* *ng* in *sing*.

The features with which I propose to deal in the following paper are :

- I). The treatment of O.E. *ǣ* & *ā* before *g, h, w*. II). The treatment of O.E. *ǣ* in open syllables and of O.E. *ā*, when *g, h, w*, did not follow. III. The treatment of O.E. *a*. IV. The treatment of O.E. *ū*.

I. O.E. *ǣ* and *ā*, when the consonants *g, h, w*, followed have become *ā* in Kendal. In most of these cases O.E. *g*, become *w*, in the M. E. period e.g. O.E. *draga*, Me *drawen*, O.E. *sagu*, Me *sawe*, O.E. *gnaga*, Me *gnawen*. This *a* became *au* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when O.E. *ū* was probably as yet undiphthongized. *Au* passed into *ō* (ɔ) in the following century by the intermediate stages of *ɪ̯* *ɪ̯*, appearing in the eighteenth century as *ā* (ɪ̯).

Examples are :

i) Before *g*

<i>ā</i> <i>vb owe</i> :	O.E.	<i>āga</i>	M.E.	<i>āgh</i>
<i>ān</i> <i>adj: own</i>	O.E.	<i>āgen</i>	M.E.	<i>āghe</i>
<i>drā</i> <i>sb: draw</i>	O.E.	<i>draga</i>	M.E.	<i>drawe</i>
<i>nā</i> <i>vb: gnaw</i>	O.E.	<i>gnaga</i>	M.E.	<i>gnawe</i>

ii Before *h*

*sā* *vb: pret: saw* or *\*sah* Me *saug* (Horn 125)

iii Before *w*

blā	vb blow	O.E.	blāwa	M.E.	blāwen
sā	vb sow	O.E.	sāwa	M.E.	sāwen
tāz	} sb. pieces of bark used for tying twigs } of a broom together.				
tāstjks					
cf O.E. getāwe.					
þrā	vb throw	O.E.	*þrāwa	Me	þrāwe

Note : *snā* *sb snow* is derived from the genitive case *\*snāwes* not from the nom : *\*snā*, which would give *\*snīə*.

II. O.E. *ǣ* in open syllables and O.E. *ā*, when the consonants *g, h, w*, did not follow have become *ɪə* in the Kendal Dialect.

